

Abstract

The Origins of the Scholastic Sermon, c. 1130-c. 1210

Peter Tibber, University College,
Oxford

Thesis submitted for the degree of D. Phil.

Trinity term, 1983 [i.e. 1984] HT

The thesis is a study of the preaching of Pullen, Lombard, Comestor, Hilduin, Peter of Poitiers, Alan of Lille, Langton and Prevostin. It traces the development of the characteristic features of the fully formed scholastic sermon. The masters preached almost exclusively to clerical and student audiences. The delivery of what was essentially the same sermon form by the mendicants in the thirteenth century to lay and especially urban society involved, therefore, a profound change in its social and religious context.

Particular attention is paid to Peter Comestor whose sermon collection was more widely disseminated than that of any other contemporary master and whose popularity as a preacher has not previously been properly appreciated. His collection is described in an appendix.

Of the exegetical techniques employed in the sermon the most characteristic was 'distinction' of complementary meanings of a given word, illustrated by use of that word in different biblical contexts. It gradually came to function as the basic organising principle of the sermon. Gebuin of Troyes, though not a scholastic preacher, and Comestor were the earliest preachers to use 'distinction' in this way. The sermon consequently evolved as a thematic discussion, in a manner of thought close to that of theology, rather than as a piece of exegesis.

The emphasis and imagery of the sermon's doctrinal instruction changed. The sermon became particularly associated with the new moral theology of sin and penance. Stephen Langton's preaching does not reflect a reorientation of the general religious view of man and his place in the world.

A study of the preaching activity at the monastery of Saint Martial in Limoges illustrates how and to what extent scholastic preaching was disseminated beyond Paris to local religious centres in the period before the friars.

Three sermons are edited as illustrative texts.

The Origins of the Scholastic Sermon, c. 1130 - c. 1210

by P.H. Tibber

Abstract

University College,
Oxford.

Trinity Term,
1983.



Preaching, both to proselytize the pagan and to instruct the faithful, has been a constant feature of the christian religion. The enormous preaching activity that is a feature of the central Middle Ages was the product of a confident and assertive christian culture founded on a fundamentally secure european economy. The particular circumstances of the 'second feudal age' enabled the Church, in a process at once religious, political and intellectual, to reassert its moral integrity and political independence, to organise its intellectual heritage and define its doctrines, and to begin to impose its authority and world view on lay society. A surplus economy and comparative european stability gave scope to the development of a religious reform and to the assertion of political independence by the Church that, in the twelfth century, stimulated and reorganised the methods, ambitions and institutions of religious scholarship.

The sermon was the instrument used by this scholastic culture and the religious reform that lay behind it to make public and effective their achievements. It was fashioned by the techniques and methods of christian scholarship and it developed in a manner analogous to other forms of scholastic writing. During the period covered by this thesis the scholastic sermon was delivered almost exclusively to ecclesiastical and predominantly student audiences by the masters of the Paris schools. The master as preacher had particular concerns distinct from those of the master as lecturer, and he selected his material accordingly. The scholastic sermon consequently reflects a particular bias

of the mother culture. It dealt only with the central doctrines of the faith and notably with those that were to have practical effect in direct action. Much of the scholastic argument and weighing of contradictory opinion from which such doctrines had emerged was absent in the preaching of the Paris masters. The sermon was a rigorously didactic instrument. It was not intended to lay open the scholastic process itself, for that might sow confusion and doubt. It dealt in moral and intellectual certitudes to be imposed by the Church and designed to dictate both a particular view of the world and man's place in it, and hence a certain way of life. It is thus the sermon as product of a scholastic culture and as instrument in the campaign to impose that culture on the world beyond that is the subject of the thesis.

Scholastic preaching has been the subject of considerable historical study in recent years. The tendency of a previous generation of scholars to regard the sermon as primarily a source of social, religious, or literary history has been replaced by an interest in the development of medieval preaching and in the sermon in its own right. This interest has been manifest in general surveys of scholastic preaching, studies of individual preachers or of particular aspects of the sermon, and in the compilation of reference material indispensable to further research. Its centre of gravity has tended to be the thirteenth century mendicant sermon. It is in this period that the sheer volume of scholastic sermon literature and supporting material first becomes overwhelming. Pressure of use fashioned a sermon that can be shown to have influenced many aspects of medieval culture. Moreover, it

it is in this period too that medieval scholars became themselves preoccupied with preaching; theorising about it, criticising excesses of style in the contemporary sermon and producing an enormous amount of reference material to assist the preacher. Understandably, modern historians have followed and shared the preoccupations and concerns of the scholars and culture they study.

To this period of intense preaching activity the twelfth century has appeared essentially as a prologue. It has long been recognised that it was during this period that the distinctive structure, techniques and concerns, characteristic of, and standardised in, the later medieval sermon, first became apparent. The thesis does not fundamentally challenge this view but by examining the preaching of the twelfth century on its own terms rather than as a prelude to what was to follow it brings important nuances and qualifications to the inevitably linear view of thirteenth century centred surveys. Of course, to study the twelfth century sermon without bearing in mind what was to become of it in the thirteenth century would be foolish. On the other hand, a study fully devoted to the preaching of the twelfth century and able therefore to take into account the particular characteristics of its preachers and their sermons is clearly a valuable contribution to the study of medieval preaching as a whole.

The first two chapters of the thesis look at these particular characteristics from two points of view. The first chapter is an introduction to the subject and looks

at the general circumstances of twelfth century scholastic preaching. In particular it emphasises the fact that the sermon form developed during the course of the twelfth century was preached almost exclusively to student and clerical audiences. Yet it was this sermon form that was taken up by the mendicants in the thirteenth century to be preached on a much larger scale beyond the confines of the Paris schools to laity and clerical audiences alike. For the mendicants the sermon was an instrument of direct instruction to the laity. In the twelfth century, in an earlier stage of religious reform, the sermon was used only to form an effective clerical body that would in its turn and with the example, material and training furnished by the masters, preach to the laity. The masters themselves preached to the laity only indirectly.

The second chapter introduces individually the masters and sermons that are the subject of the thesis. In so doing it discusses any technical difficulties of biography, chronology or attribution. By examining the collections in which the sermons have survived it traces the development of the scholastic liturgical cycle, of which the first example was Peter Lombard's. It shows that Peter Comestor's collection was much more widely and rapidly disseminated than that of any other Paris master. The collection and the manuscripts in which it is found are fully described in an appendix to the thesis. They indicate that Comestor was a much more popular preacher than has hitherto been realised and for that reason particular attention is paid to his sermons when discussing and analysing the twelfth century sermon literature. By examining the careers of each of the Paris

masters the chapter demonstrates what had already been stated in the introduction, namely that they preached in an exclusively clerical and scholastic environment. In that context the discussion of Langton's preaching is important. It has been argued that Langton spoke primarily to lay audiences and that he therefore anticipated in some ways the later preaching of the mendicants. In subsequent chapters the thesis points out important differences between Langton's (and to a lesser extent Prevostin's) preaching and that of other Paris masters but these differences are regarded as a product of the evolution of scholastic culture as a whole towards the end of the twelfth century and not as a consequence of a putative change in the composition of the audiences that the masters addressed. Here it is argued that there is no need to suppose that Langton preached in circumstances any different from those of his Paris colleagues.

Chapters three and four deal respectively with the techniques and structure of the sermon. The latter evolved out of the former and the development of both is illustrated by the edition of three sermons at the end of the thesis. The third chapter looks at the exegetical techniques employed by the preachers; the procedures of literal and symbolic interpretation, 'distinction' of different meanings of a given word, and the devices used to assert and illustrate the sermon's didactic material. The most characteristic exegetical device used by the preachers was the 'distinction'. Its importance was recognised by the compilation of the first collections of these for use by preachers. The fourth chapter

shows how 'distinction' gradually came to function as the basic organising principle of the sermon. As a result the sermon gradually evolved as a thematic discussion of related subject-matter, in a manner of thought close to that of theological study, rather than as a piece of exegesis following the logic of the biblical narrative. The culmination of this development of a standardised sermon form organised around a single 'distinction' was recognised in the production of the first fully theoretical artes praedicandi at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The fifth chapter discusses the subject-matter treated in the sermons. It examines changes of emphasis and imagery in doctrinal instruction, notably in relation to the figures of Christ and the Virgin, and the growing connexion between preaching and the new moral theology of sin and penance. Finally the chapter looks at the broader religious view of man and his place in the world that is reflected in the sermons and rejects the argument that it was fundamentally modified towards the end of the century in order to take account of the ambitions and realities of a growing lay and especially urban society.

The last chapter is rather different in character. It is a study of the preaching activity of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Martial in Limoges and, rather than concentrating on an analysis of the sermon text itself, it looks at the way various forms of sermon were used there. It is a local study rather than part of a general survey and is intended to illustrate the manner in which scholastic

preaching was gradually disseminated beyond Paris and introduced into other local religious centres to serve their various pastoral requirements. To that extent the preaching at St. Martial may be regarded as representative of an intermediate stage in the process of bringing the scholastic sermon out of its Parisian environment, a process that was to be vastly accelerated by the preaching of the mendicants in the thirteenth century.

The Origins of the Scholastic Sermon, c. 1130 - c. 1210

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Oxford

by
P.H. Tibber

University College,
Oxford.

Trinity Term,
1983.

[ie 1984] MT

Acknowledgements

I have benefited from conversations with several friends and scholars. In particular, however, I should like to thank Dr. David d'Avray for his unfailing enthusiasm and encouragement, and my supervisor, Sir Richard Southern, for all his help, advice and kindness without which I would scarcely have dared to tackle such a subject.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

Chapter 1	Introduction: The Subject and its Context	page 1
Chapter 2	The Preachers and their Sermons	19
	(i) Robert Pullen	21
	(ii) Peter Lombard	29
	(iii) Peter Comestor	32
	a) Biography	32
	b) The Sermon Collection	34
	c) Other Sermons	42
	d) Sermons Falsely Attributed to Comestor	44
	(iv) Hilduin	48
	(v) Peter of Poitiers	49
	(vi) Alan of Lille	51
	(vii) Stephen Langton	55
	(viii) Prevostin of Cremona	61
Chapter 3	Preaching Techniques	65
	(i) Symbolism	67
	(ii) 'Distinction'	82
	(iii) Proof and Illustration	94
Chapter 4	The Structure of the Sermon	115
	(i) The <u>Thema</u>	116
	(ii) The <u>Prothema</u>	123
	(iii) Treatment of the <u>Thema</u>	127
	(iv) Gebuin of Troyes	142
	(v) Stephen Langton and Prevostin	148
	(vi) The Theory of Preaching	154

Chapter 5	The Substance of the Sermon	page 165
	(i) Instruction	165
	(ii) Penance	192
	(iii) The Clergy	203
	(iv) The Scholastic Sermon and Lay Society	221
Chapter 6	Preaching at St. Martial, Limoges	233
Illustrative Texts		
	1. A Sermon by Robert Pullen	262
	2. A Sermon by Gebuin of Troyes	272
	3. A Sermon by Peter of Poitiers	277
Appendix: Peter Comestor's Sermons		290
Bibliography		340

List of Abbreviations

<u>A.H.D.L.M.A.</u>	<u>Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire</u> <u>du Moyen-Age</u> (Paris, 1926-).
I.R.H.T.	Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris.
MS. B.M. . .	British Museum manuscript . . . (<i>Now British Library</i>)
MS. B.N. . .	'Bibliothèque Nationale, manuscrit latin . . .'
P.L.	<u>Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus</u> , ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-55).
<u>R.T.A.M.</u>	<u>Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale</u> (Louvain, 1929-).
<u>T.R.H.S.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</u> (London, 1875-).

1. Introduction: The Subject and its Context

Preaching was one of the most important religious activities of the middle ages. J.B. Schneyer's repertory of medieval sermons which is certainly incomplete and which restricts itself to sermons recorded in latin in the period 1150-1350 contains many tens of thousands of individual items¹. Manuscripts containing this material are abundant and ubiquitous. The sermon itself was a protean instrument. It served a variety of purposes and adapted itself to the many different circumstances in which it was employed. Sermons were preached by university scholars, by monks, by parochial clergy and, despite repeated efforts by the Church to prevent them, by the laity. They served as vehicles for theological instruction, for religious inspiration and for doctrinal and political polemic. Sermons generated a mass of supportive material and their idioms permeated vernacular imaginative literatures. It may fairly be said, therefore, that preaching was a formative influence on, a constituent element and a reflection of, medieval culture in its widest ramifications.

This thesis is a study of the origins of this preaching activity. Its subject is the preaching of Paris masters in the twelfth century. One might object that the twelfth century is both too late and too early a period to be held

1. J.B. Schneyer, Repertorium der Lateinische Sermones des Mittelalter (Münster, 1969-79, 9 vols.).

responsible for the origins of medieval preaching. Certainly, we possess collections of sermons that antedate the twelfth century. The 'Carolingian renaissance' produced several important homiletic collections and developed a new form of homiliary¹. So too we have collections of sermons in old english that were apparently delivered to the laity². These are important and impressive achievements. They are also, however, isolated instances. The creative energies of the Carolingian empire were more or less extinguished with its political existence in the late ninth and tenth centuries. The preachers of the twelfth century had to start again.

On the other hand it might be argued that it was the thirteenth not the twelfth century that was the really formative period in the development of medieval preaching. The thirteenth century preached on a scale hitherto unknown. It produced an unprecedented body of reference and exemplary material designed to assist the preacher in various ways. It was in the thirteenth century that the friars and above all the Dominicans, the Ordo Praedicatorum, constituted themselves as the body of professional preachers par excellence³.

1. M.McC. Gatch, Preaching and Theology in Anglo Saxon England: Aelfric and Wulfstan (Toronto, 1977), pp. 27-30.

2. 'Aelfric's books were to be used primarily for reading ad populum'. Ibid., p. 53.

3. On thirteenth century preaching see D.L. d'Avray, 'The Transformation of the Medieval Sermon' (Oxford Univ. D. Phil. thesis, 1976) and the introductory essay in R.H. and M.A. Rouse, Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland (Toronto, 1979).

Nevertheless I shall argue that most of the essential features of mendicant preaching were present in the sermons of the twelfth century. Twelfth century preachers experimented with the various exegetical and rhetorical techniques that were incorporated into the thirteenth century sermon. They gradually moved towards the method of structuring the sermon that was to become standard practice in the thirteenth century. At the very end of the twelfth century and in the first decade of the thirteenth they produced the first genuinely theoretical treatises on the newly defined art of preaching. The twelfth century lacked the resources and the stimuli to emulate the 'mass production' and consequent standardisation of preaching material in the thirteenth. It did, however, in an infrequent and inconsistent manner anticipate the salient features of the mendicant sermon.

Quite apart from the question of chronology the preaching of the twelfth century was defined by a specific set of circumstances and purposes that marked it off decisively from that of the Carolingians or of the mendicants. The sermons that are the subject of this thesis were all preached by masters of the Paris schools. Most of them formed part of the liturgical cycles that were delivered during the course of the academic year by the masters to their students in the university churches. Some of them are synodal sermons that were preached by the masters to the local clergy. A few were preached by these same masters to the religious communities of Paris, the canons of St. Victor, the monks of St. Germain

and so on. They were all, therefore, delivered in a scholastic environment. Indeed it is a central contention of this thesis that the scholastic sermon must be seen as a form of academic expression, a product of the enormous expansion of scholastic activity in the twelfth century in the same way as were other forms of academic writing. Traditionally a master had always been held responsible not merely for the strictly intellectual formation of his students but also for their faith and morals. It was with these latter that the master concerned himself when he preached. His sermon was primarily a didactic, not an evangelical or polemical instrument. In the early days it was sometimes difficult to distinguish the sermon from the lecture. As the century progressed and the rate of scholastic activity accelerated scholars were obliged to break down the undifferentiated mass of scholastic writing into distinct disciplines. The emergence of a standardised form of scholastic sermon was one consequence of this process.

It was a development analogous to the contemporary emergence of theology as an independent discipline. Initially questions of a theological nature were discussed as they were raised in the course of progressive lecturing and glossing of the bible. Early in the twelfth century the profusion of such questions began to overburden the exegesis itself and they were withdrawn from the biblical context and arranged systematically in collections of

theological quaestiones and sententiae¹.

The scholastic sermon too abandoned the essentially exegetical approach of the homily (a simple paraphrase and exposition of the biblical passage) and treated doctrinal and moral questions in a thematic manner often only tenuously attached to the sermon text. Thus a distinctive form of scholastic preaching was generated by the internal momentum of the scholastic process. In the thirteenth century preaching became an intrinsic part of the university curriculum. Bachelors were required to demonstrate their mastery of this particular form of academic expression by preaching publicly as part of the process of inception as masters of theology².

It is the particular nature of twelfth century preaching as a scholastic discipline confined to scholastic and ecclesiastical communities that defines the subject of this thesis. As such twelfth century preaching is distinguished in substance, no less than chronologically,

1. B. Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Paperback edition, University of Notre Dame Press, Indiana, 1964), pp. 72-76.

2. A.G. Little and F. Pelster, Oxford Theology and Theologians (Oxford, 1934), pp. 168-172. The earliest surviving examples of the inaugural sermon that the master was required to preach at his inception are those by Stephen Langton, ed. Ph.B. Roberts, Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton (Toronto, 1968), pp. 224-237 and Thomas Chobham, ed. J.W. Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle (Princeton U.P., 1970, 2 vols.), ii. 266-271. See Baldwin's remarks i. 111-116.

from the preaching of both monks and the mendicants.

Monastic preaching shared some common purposes, and therefore methods, with the preaching of the schools masters. Essentially, of course, Benedictine monasticism was a form of religious life entirely removed from the secular world. In fact, however, both black monks and Cistercians in the twelfth century exercised pastoral responsibilities beyond the monastic community for which, among other things, preaching material was required. The nature of this social commitment reflected the different histories of the two Benedictine orders. Black houses were deeply embedded in the contemporary social structure. Their pastoral responsibilities were exercised within the context of the charitable, hospitable and pedagogic services they provided for the local community. In contrast the pastoral work of the Cistercians was more overtly missionary and is exemplified in their contribution to the early campaigns against heretics in the Midi.

Nor was monastic culture entirely immune from scholastic influences. Masters frequently retained associations with monastic houses, retired to them and brought both a certain scholastic mentality and, more concretely, their books. As the twelfth century progressed scholastic association with monastic communities gradually shifted from black to Cistercian communities (and even more so to the Augustinians) reflecting, in this as in so many other respects, the relative strengths of the two Benedictine orders.

Inevitably Augustinian canons enjoyed a still closer relationship with scholastic culture. Those who lived according to various forms of the 'Augustinian Rule' were deliberately more active pastorally than the fully closed monastic orders. Paris masters professed a particular admiration for the compromise between secular life and monastic asceticism struck by the 'Augustinian Rule'. It was a compromise that allowed the canons to play a larger role in scholastic activity. The contribution of the Augustinian house of St. Victor in Paris, in particular, was immense and its preaching though distinctive was clearly influenced by Paris scholars¹.

Scholastic influence on the preaching of the various monastic orders was important. An attempt to illustrate the nature of this influence and the manner in which scholastic teaching and methodology generally was disseminated will be made in a study of the preaching of the black house of St. Martial in Limoges. However, in so far as the monastic sermon was designed for the monastic communities themselves and served purposes that were specifically monastic it remained fundamentally quite distinct from the preaching of the Paris masters. Sermons were used within the community not only for communal preaching but also for private meditative reading. They tended, consequently, to be more

1. For Victorine preaching see the editions of J. Chatillon, Achard Sermons Ineditis (Paris, 1970) and Galteri a Sancto Victore et Quorundam Aliorum Sermones Ineditos Triginta Sex (Corpus Christi Cont. Med. 30, 1975).

intimate communications couched in an emotive allusive language and intended to persuade the heart rather than to convince the intellect. As a subject in its own right, therefore, monastic preaching falls outside the scope of this thesis.

Just as the particular nature of twelfth century scholastic preaching distinguishes it from its monastic counterpart so too does it from the mendicant preaching of the thirteenth century. This latter was also, of course, the product of a university environment. Paris served as the principal centre for the production and diffusion of thirteenth century preaching and preaching aids. However, whereas the twelfth century scholastic sermon was preached uniquely to students or to ecclesiastical synods or to religious communities, thirteenth century preachers preached to clerics and laity alike. Indeed the desire to preach beyond the confines of the university and the city to the laity as a whole has been identified as both the principal cause and the distinctive feature of the enormous preaching activity of the thirteenth century¹. If this was indeed the case it represents a fundamental reorientation of the purposes and context of twelfth century preaching.

It is extraordinarily difficult to establish the extent and nature of preaching to the laity by the Church

1. 'It is the combination of popular preaching with the production of stereotyped material for the preachers which gives the thirteenth century movement its distinctive character'. d'Avray, op.cit., p. 6.

in the period before the friars. Probably there was some sort of basic translation and paraphrase of the pericope by the priest after it had been read out in the course of the mass. It is possible that a simple exposition of this nature together with basic catechetical instruction covering the Creed, the Lord's prayer, the liturgy and so forth and announcements of forthcoming liturgical events took place in the form of an office known subsequently as the prone. Such material did not, in general, appear in mendicant preaching. The friars seem to have been satisfied that it would have been adequately dealt with elsewhere. The prone could follow the gospel reading of the mass but it ultimately became quite independent of it and could take place in an entirely non-liturgical context. The material was delivered in the vernacular and largely extempore. Gatch has suggested that the canons of the several Carolingian councils that legislate for preaching envisaged this sort of catechetical instruction rather than the exegetical preaching of the patristic mass homily¹.

By its very nature this sort of basic instruction and preaching leaves little evidence. It may be that the few surviving examples of twelfth century vernacular material were used in this context. Certainly the very basic limousin homilies and moral precepts found in St. Martial manuscripts would have been suitable for this

1. Op.cit., p. 37.

purpose¹ and it seems that Aelfric's Catholic Homilies were delivered, together with catechetical instruction, in the prone².

In the twelfth century there were sporadic attempts to provide material to be preached by the clergy to the laity. Honorius of Autun's Speculum Ecclesiae and Maurice of Sully's collections of homilies were both intended for this purpose. It has even been suggested that in thirteenth century England regular liturgical preaching by the parochial clergy may have been supplied by the reading of patristic homilies³. The only evidence in support of such an hypothesis is some tendentious interpretation of thirteenth century english conciliar legislation on the subject and the fact that twelfth century canon law expected all priests to possess a homiliary. However, the sophistication of both language and material and the fact that homiliaries appear to have been produced primarily for monastic purposes makes this somewhat improbable.

Whether more basic catechetical instruction and simple exegetical exposition did in fact take place on any scale in the twelfth century or formed a sort of substrata to

1. Edited C. Chabeneau, Revue des Langues Romanes, 18 (1880), 105-146; 22 (1882), 157-179; 33 (1883), 53-70, 157-169. See the remarks of M. Zink, La Prédication en Langue Romane Avant 1300 (Paris, 1976), pp. 97, 194, 345. English material such as the Ormulum, ed. R.M. White and R. Holt (Oxford, 1878) and the collection of homilies in MS. Bodley 343, ed. A.O. Balfour (Early English Text Society, 137, 1909) might also have formed part of the prone.

2. Gatch, op.cit., p. 54.

3. D.W. Robertson Jr., 'Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth Century England', Speculum, 24 (1949), 376-388.

the more sophisticated lay preaching of the thirteenth remain open questions that depend to a large extent on equally hypothetical assessments of the state of the parish clergy. What does seem clear, however, is that whether or not such elementary catechetical instruction took place it was not of itself sufficient. The inadequacy of relations between the laity and the Church was felt by both parties. On the Church's part the desire to improve them was one of the driving forces behind the religious reform movement in general and the concerted campaign to educate and reorganise the parochial clergy in particular.

In the meantime most people's contact with any sort of religious teaching must have been extremely limited. For a while it was supplemented by the preaching of such 'wandering hermits' as Robert d'Arbrissel and Norbert of Xanten but the movements they excited were isolated and ephemeral. These were regarded with suspicion by the institutionalised Church and were soon transformed into more conventional but less responsive forms of religious life¹.

The preaching of the crusades too brought the Church into more direct contact with the laity. Those, such as d'Arbrissel, Peter the hermit and, later in the century, Fulk of Neuilly, who preached the crusades amongst the laity met with an enormous response. The crusades, however, were inevitably temporary phenomena and could not provide

1. E. Werner, Pauperes Christi (Leipzig, 1956), pp. 77-88.

the basis for a stable and reciprocal relationship between the Church and the laity.

It was in the poverty movements of the northern Italian towns and the heresies of the Midi that lay demands for religious forms relevant to them found their most articulate, most sustained and ultimately most influential expression¹. Doubtless these movements were fuelled by social and economic grievances, as indeed the earlier eremetical movements and crusades had been. They were none the less authentically religious for that and they posed a serious challenge to the institutionalised Church and to the religion it offered.

Initially the Church responded in an uncoordinated manner that simply reflected the inchoate state of the movements themselves. There were pontifical and episcopal decrees against the lay and ipso facto heretical preaching of the poverty movements². The Cistercians organised the first preaching campaigns against the Cathars. The pontificate of Innocent III marked the beginning of a more coherent response by the Church³. There were attempts to

1. For the poverty movements and the Church's response to them see H. Grundmann, Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter (Berlin, 1935), pp. 70-156.

2. Notably Lucius III's bull 'Ad abolendum' (1184). P.L. 201:1297-1300. For later legislation on the subject see Odo of Paris' Constitutiones, c. 16 (J.D. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio (Florence and Venice, 1759-93), xxii. 681); Robert Courson's decrees at the councils of Paris, i. c. 16 (ibid., 821) and Rouen, i. c. 9 (ibid., 901); Langton's Canterbury Statutes, c. 51 (F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney, Councils and Synods (Oxford, 1964), ii(i). 33-34) repeated in Richard Poore's Salisbury statutes, c. 76 (ibid., p. 85); fourth Lateran council, c. 3 (Mansi, op.cit., xxii. 990).

3. B. Bolton, 'Innocent III's Treatment of the Humiliati', Studies in Church History VIII, ed. G.J. Cummings and D. Baker (Cambridge U.P., 1972), pp. 73-82.

reach a compromise with the ideals of the poverty movements which resulted, ultimately, in papal recognition of the Franciscans. From the failures of the Cistercian campaigns against the Cathars emerged the Dominicans and papal crusade. The programme of reform announced in the legislation of the fourth Lateran council codified much of the scholastic achievement and religious experience of the previous century and established the basis for a sustained attempt by the Church to satisfy the requirements and to respond to the environment of lay society¹.

This was the context of the mendicant preaching of the thirteenth century. Mendicants harnessed the preaching innovations of the twelfth century Paris schools to the wider social perspectives of the thirteenth century Church. It is vital, however, to appreciate that the twelfth century Paris masters preached in a much more restricted environment concerned essentially with the Church itself and only indirectly with its relations with lay society. They had neither the formative experience of the Dominicans as polemical, anti-heretical preachers, nor were they products of the urbanised environment from which the Franciscans and other poverty movements emerged.

The challenge of the heretics and the social realities of lay life appeared only incidentally and rarely in the preaching of the Paris masters. In the Midi after his departure

1. It was of course only at this council that bishops were formerly permitted to authorise assistants and substitutes to perform their preaching responsibilities where they themselves were unable. There is little doubt that in practice preaching had not been the monopoly of the episcopacy for some time. Mansi, op.cit., xxii. 998 (c. 10).

from Paris Alan of Lille wrote a polemical tract, the De Fide Catholica, that was aimed primarily at the Cathars but that dealt also with the Waldensians, the Jews and the Moslems¹. None of these groups figured prominently, if at all, in his Paris preaching. The masters were not, of course, completely unaware of such groups, but they lacked any direct social experience of them. Jews appeared either as the historical people described in the bible or as professional academics challenging christian exegetical methodology. Paris masters were acquainted with heretical doctrines in the form that they had been encountered and contested by their patristic sources rather than as a contemporary challenge. The twelfth century Paris masters' contribution to the reform of the Church was to develop the fundamental theological and moral doctrines on which that reform was based and to educate the clergy so that they would in their turn be better able to bring the religion to the laity. The masters were not yet ready to preach to the laity themselves.

Only towards the end of the twelfth century were there signs of a change in this emphasis. Lothar of Segni, a former Paris scholar, became Pope Innocent III and Stephen Langton and Peter of Corbeil accepted archepiscopal appointments from him. From such positions they could attempt to implement reforms themselves whereas previously scholars had

1. P.L. 210:305-430. M.-T. d'Alverny, Alain de Lille Textes Inédits (Paris, 1965), pp. 156-162.

only been able to influence the leaders of the Church indirectly. In this sense the fourth Lateran council and the subsequent local councils of the thirteenth century may well be seen as the practical implementation of twelfth century Parisian scholastic activity.

These changes were reflected in the preaching. Both Alan of Lille and Stephen Langton made attempts to simplify the Paris style of scholastic preaching in order to make it accessible to wider audiences. Alan reverted to homiletic forms and Langton, though he preserved the basic structure of the scholastic sermon, restricted the use of scholastic techniques and introduced illustrative and anecdotal devices that were intended to make the material more palatable.

Such developments may fairly be said to have reflected the widening social horizons of Paris scholars towards the end of the century and to have anticipated the changed orientation of thirteenth century mendicant preaching. Here too, however, differences between the circumstances, and therefore forms, of mendicant and twelfth century Paris preaching are apparent. The mendicants preached substantially the same material to both lay and clerical audiences. Their lay audiences were composed largely of the urban bourgeoisie whose general level of education was comparable to that of the clergy and who were apparently expected to enjoy and benefit from the same preaching material. The mendicant sermon was both product of, and contributory factor in, the creation of a common religious culture shared by the general clergy and the upper classes of the urban laity¹.

1 d'Avray, *op. cit.*, pp 61-72

Circumstances were different in the late twelfth century. The scholastic sermon was still largely confined to the schools, and the Church had not yet solved the problem of how to bring religion to the laity and to the towns in particular. The common culture did not yet exist. The sermons of Alan of Lille and Stephen Langton suggest that preachers such as these were experimenting with ways of refining the scholastic sermon so as to enable it to carry their material beyond the schools to the sorts of audiences that the friars were to reach.

Their sermons thus represent an intermediate stage between the purely intellectual preaching of the twelfth century schools and the evangelism of the friars. In a more fundamental sense too they were clearly the products of a scholastic environment that had yet to engage fully with lay society. Langton's sermons still presented religious life as an alternative to life in lay society rather than as a way of living in it. His preaching was profoundly eschatological. He regarded man's existence on earth almost exclusively as a preparation for an after life and addressed himself to its practical difficulties only infrequently and perfunctorily. The ad status chapters of Alan of Lille's De Arte Praedicandi gave some hint of the way thirteenth century preachers were to approach the problem. In the much fuller ad status sermons of preachers such as Jacques de Vitry and Guibert of Tournai serious attempts were made to offer practical guidance based on religious

principles for the conditions of lay life experienced by different categories of the laity¹. In this respect too, therefore, although there was an obvious continuity between the preaching of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there were important differences in emphasis and a further distinctive feature of twelfth century preaching may be defined.

The scholastic sermon first emerged in the twelfth century. Initially it was the product of almost exclusively scholastic forces, though even before its forms had crystallised it had begun to adjust to take account of wider perspectives. The study of scholastic preaching in the twelfth century is thus the study of the origins and transition of the sermon. The general movement towards the standard mendicant sermon of the thirteenth century is unmistakable. Within that broad framework there were subsidiary developments. In the thirteenth century the sheer extent of preaching, the place that it took in the formalised instruction of the university and the abundant provision of preaching aids, model sermons and other reference material produced a stereotype scholastic sermon. In the twelfth century these pressures to conform were far less imposing. The scholastic sermon was still fluid enough to respond to the proclivities of individual preachers

1. See, for example, their discussion of marriage: 'Jacobus de Vitriaco and Guibertus de Tournaco both provide a fairly comprehensive popularisation of marriage doctrine to meet the needs of the laity'. D.L. d'Avray and M. Tausche, 'Marriage Sermons in Ad Status Collections of the Central Middle Ages', A.H.D.L.M.A., 47 (1980), 117.

and to the exigencies of specific circumstances. There were portentous innovations and sterile false starts. Despite the clear link between the preaching of the twelfth and thirteenth century sermon and the obvious fact that the mendicants developed and adapted a basic sermon form that had first emerged in the twelfth century, the twelfth century scholastic sermon has a distinctive character that merits, both for its own sake and for its place as the foundation of subsequent medieval preaching, further study. This, then, is the subject of the thesis.

Chapter 2. The Preachers and their Sermons

The purpose of the present chapter is to introduce the material with which the thesis deals. Some biographical information on the preachers concerned and some description of their sermons, the place they hold in the preacher's career and output and the manner in which they have been transmitted is clearly essential if the subsequent analysis of this material is to be fully understood.

The thesis deals principally, though not exclusively, with the sermons of Robert Pullen, Peter Lombard, Peter Comestor, Hilduin, Peter of Poitiers, Alan of Lille, Stephen Langton and Prevostin of Cremona. It would be an exaggeration to say that the preachers selected themselves but it is true that the contents of the manuscript collections alone virtually define the limits of the subject. These manuscripts, written in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and of which the majority are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, brought together, often haphazardly and anonymously, the sermons of the Paris masters and create the impression of a loose 'school' of twelfth century scholastic preaching with a roughly consistent membership and fairly clearly defined chronological limits. It is thus the perception of twelfth century scholastic preaching by contemporaries or near contemporaries that has governed the selection of material.

The associations suggested by the manuscript collections have not been followed uncritically. There have been omissions

and additions. Robert Pullen, who stands somewhat apart from this group, has been included as the earliest practitioner of a distinctively scholastic style of preaching. On the other hand, the sermons of Geoffrey Babion, which were perhaps more widely disseminated and more popular than those of any other twelfth century preacher, fall largely outside the scope of the thesis because, like those of Ralph Ardens¹ and Jacques de Vitry² later on, they were delivered in environments other than that of the Paris schools³. At the same time, however, relevant material by other, non Parisian, contemporary preachers has been introduced at appropriate points.

No attempt has been made to treat the sermons of all the Paris masters with equal weight. The thesis is intended as an essay on the origins and development of a style of preaching and not as a series of discrete and complete studies of individual preachers. It therefore selects from, and makes use of, the material introduced here, accordingly.

-
1. Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants, i. 39-41; J. Longère, Oeuvres Oratoires de Maîtres Parisiens au Douzième Siècle (Paris, 1975), i. 30-1; Schneyer, Repertorium, v. 1-16. The sermons are printed in P.L. 155:1301-1626, 1667-2118.
 2. Longère, op.cit., i. 31-33; Schneyer, op.cit., iii. 179-221. The Sermones Dominicales are edited by Th. Lyngam (Anvers, 1575) and extracts from the ad status sermons by J.B. Pitra, Analecta Novissima Spicilegii Solesmensis, II (1967).
 3. J.P. Bonnes, 'Un des Plus Grands Prédicateurs du Douzième Siècle Geoffroy du Loroux dit Geoffroy Babion', Revue Bénédictine 56 (1946), 177-215. The sermons are printed, under the name of Hildebert of Lavardin, in P.L. 171. For some remarks on Babion's preaching see below, pp. 252-3.

(i) Robert Pullen

Robert Pullen's career has seemed to historians to be significant for a variety of reasons¹. He has been seen as an early contributor to a tradition of scholarship at Oxford and, more extravagantly, as the founder of theological study in that university. He attained a seniority rare for an englishman in the hierarchy of the papal curia and he may have been responsible for the future Pope Adrian IV's appointment to the bishopric of Albano². He was one of the few english scholars to earn a reputation as a teacher in Paris before 1140. John of Salisbury, whom he taught, praised his learning and virtue³. His Sententiae constitute the earliest comprehensive theological work to be produced by an english writer⁴ and are significant as an early example of the systematisation of theology in a clearly scholastic manner.

Pullen was born in, or close to, the abbey of Sherborne. His first cousin Joseph was prior there and he apparently remained close to the community⁵. In 1145 he wrote on the

1. The standard work on Pullen is F. Courtney, Cardinal Robert Pullen: An English Theologian of the Twelfth Century (Rome, 1954). For the sermons see Schneyer, v. 219-223.

2. R.L. Poole, 'The Early Lives of Robert Pullen and Nicholas Breakspear', Essays in Medieval History Presented to T.F. Tout, ed. A.G. Little and F.M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), p. 68.

3. Metalogicon, Bk. 2, ch. 10 (ed. C.C. Webb, Oxford, 1929, p. 82).

4. Courtney, op.cit., p. ix.

5. '. . . quod Joseph Scireburnensis monasterii prior filius avunculi nostri est et plures in eodem monasterio vicina nobis propinquitate iunguntur'. Letter from Pullen, ed. W. Holtzmann, 'Papsturkunden in England', iii., Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen (Philologisch-Historische Klasse), 33 (1952), 173.

monastery's behalf to Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury. The monastery had become involved in a dispute with the bishop of Salisbury over the election of the new abbot and the monastery's rights to certain lands and tithes. Joseph had gone to Rome to plead the monastery's case and the pope had appointed archbishop Theobald and Robert, Bishop of Hereford, to resolve the matter. Pullen wrote in order to win the archbishop's support in the case for the monastery and, more specifically, to ensure that his cousin Joseph's travelling expenses would be reimbursed¹.

Pullen taught theology in Oxford from 1133 to 1138 and he may possibly have taught in Exeter before that². In 1138 he went to Paris. It was there that he taught, among others, John of Salisbury when, in 1142, John's previous master, Gilbert Porreta, was elected to the see of Poitiers.

He was also archdeacon of Rochester. In Paris he resisted the demands of the new bishop, Ascelin, to return to England and to surrender control of certain local churches and their revenues³. In 1144 Pullen took his case to the papal curia and though he was initially unsuccessful before Celestine II the decision was reversed in his favour by Celestine's successor, Lucius II, a few weeks later. It may have been this that first brought him to the attention of the curia. In any event, in the same year he was appointed cardinal and papal chancellor, and remained so until his

1. Ibid.

2. Courtney, pp. 8-9.

3. Ibid., pp. 11-15.

death or retirement in 1146.

In his dispute with Ascelin Pullen benefited from the influential support of Bernard of Clairvaux. Bernard wrote to Ascelin towards the end of 1142 or the beginning of 1143 to reiterate an appeal he had apparently already made that Pullen be allowed to remain in Paris teaching 'the sound theology for which he is distinguished'¹. Bernard evidently regarded Pullen as a solid and reliable influence on young theology students in a period when theological study in Paris was still disturbed by the ripples emanating from the second condemnation of Abelard in 1140 and by the recent departure of Gilbert Porreta to the see of Poitiers. Ironically Pullen's eventual success in the Ascelin case no more served Bernard's intentions than his defeat would have done. Instead of being obliged to leave Paris to return to Rochester Pullen was appointed papal chancellor and moved to Rome.

It is not impossible also that Bernard was influenced by Pullen's association with Sherborne. Initially the attention of Eugenius III appears to have been drawn to the dispute between Sherborne and Jocelin of Salisbury by a letter written to him by Abbot Rainald of Citeaux². The letter ended rather craftily by evoking the memory of Stephen Harding who began his monastic career at Sherborne and later became third abbot of Citeaux. Rainald may, therefore, have

1. '... ob sanum doctrinam quae apud illum esse dignoscitur'. Bernard, ep. 205, P.L. 182:372C.

2. Holtzmann, op.cit., pp. 170-1.

felt particular ties with Sherborne, though it was not itself a Cistercian house, and certainly he wished to evoke such feelings in Eugenius, who was a Cistercian monk. Bernard may possibly have felt the same way and so felt an additional reason for taking an interest in Pullen.

Two sets of sermons are attributed to Pullen, one found in english manuscripts, the other in french¹. Attribution of the english set to Pullen is undisputed. The set contains nineteen sermons and is found in two manuscripts, one from Hereford Cathedral, the other from the Augustinian priory of Lanthony and now in Lambeth Palace². Both manuscripts contain other material, including four sermons by Bernard, besides Pullen's sermons. They are twelfth century manuscripts and it looks as though the Hereford manuscript was copied from the Lambeth³. In both manuscripts each sermon is individually attributed to Pullen. Generally they are described as 'doctoris Roberti Pullani'. The only exception is the fifteenth sermon which is given the rubric 'Sermo doctoris Roberti Pullani, cancellarii Romae'. Its inclusion suggests that the collection may have been put together after Pullen's appointment as chancellor and quite probably after his death.

1. Schneyer, op.cit., v. 223 has attributed three additional sermons to Pullen merely because they are found anonymously with other Pullen sermons in MS. B.M. 2. D. xxxvii. This hardly seems sufficient reason for so doing.

2. MS. Hereford Cathedral O. 2. VIII, ff. 74-132 and MS. Lambeth Palace 458, ff. 109-190.

3. Sentences which have been omitted in the Lambeth text and subsequently added in the margins by the same scribal hand that wrote the text appear in the body of the text in the Hereford manuscript. See Lambeth f. 138v, f. 145v and f. 149v corresponding to Hereford f. 29a, f. 105a and f. 108b respectively.

The Continuatio Bedae, a fourteenth century chronicle based partly on the principal source for the life of Robert Pullen, the Osney Annals, relates that Pullen preached to the people every sunday while in Oxford¹. If that is so these sermons have not survived. It is possible of course that some lay people were present in a predominantly university audience and that it was, thus, the nineteen sermons in the Hereford and Lambeth manuscripts that the chronicler had in mind. This seems unlikely however. The chronicler referred to regular dominical preaching by Pullen but his surviving sermons were clearly not part of any such cycle. Most of the sermons have no obvious liturgical context. Pullen made no allowances for a lay audience and addressed himself exclusively to the clerics. His sermons use Aristotelian terminology², make reference to Boethius³ and include remarks about his audience's studies⁴. Moreover at one point he specifically described himself and his audience as clerics⁵.

1. 'Omni die dominico verbum Dei populo praedicavit'. Quoted Poole, Early Lives, p. 62.

2. 'Similiter, iste vocatur temptatio non quia ipse sit temptatio quae qualitas secundum Aristotilem nuncupatur sed quia suis pravis temptationibus ad malum nos assidue provocat'. Ser. 17, MS. Hereford Cathedral O. 2. VIII, f. 119a.

3. Ibid., f. 120a.

4. 'Rami, siquidem, vestri studia vestra sunt; scilicet studia philosophorum studia artium liberalium, dialecticae, gramaticae et caetera quibus intenditis et in quibus totum tempus et studium vestrum consumitis'. Ser. 13, MS. Lambeth Palace 458, f. 148v.

5. 'Reducamus ad memoriam quod clerici sumus'. Ser. 12, MS. Hereford Cathedral O. 2. VIII, f. 106va.

It is impossible to know for certain whether Pullen preached these sermons in Oxford or in Paris or both. The fact that they are found as a collection only in the two english manuscripts suggests that Oxford was the more likely venue. In addition, small groups of Pullen's sermons are found in one or two other english manuscripts¹. On the other hand, similar small anonymous groups are frequently found in french anthologies of the preaching of the Paris masters². As a master Pullen would have preached in Paris no less than in Oxford and he probably used the same material in both places. The important point is that, whether in Oxford or in Paris, these sermons were preached in a scholastic environment to clerical audiences.

A second set of twenty seven sermons attributed to Pullen is found in three french manuscripts; B.N. 2945, Reims 586 and Southwark R.C. Cathedral 9 (of french provenance). The sermons are anonymous in the Reims manuscript. In B.N. 2945, which is a thirteenth century manuscript, there is the single rubric at the head of the first sermon of the collection 'Magister Robertus Pulo'³. There is a similar rubric, unfortunately truncated, at the head of the collection in the Southwark manuscript⁴. The rubric was written in a hand other than, but contemporary with, that which wrote the

1. Notably MS. Eton 38 which is an english manuscript, perhaps from Gloucester, of the mid thirteenth century. It contains sermons 16-19, 2 (ff. 136v-151v) and 5, 4 (ff. 162-8) attributed to Pullen and sermon 11 (ff. 212v-215) anonymously. N.R. Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries (Oxford, 1977), ii. 666-72.

2. For example B.N. 12414 sermons 6-14 (ff. 151va-170a) and 1-4 (ff. 173vb- 17ava). For a complete list of manuscripts see Schneyer, op.cit., v. 223.

3. F. 46v.

4. 'Magister Robertus Pll'. F. 1.

text. The Southwark manuscript is late twelfth century and contains only this collection of sermons.

Despite these rubrics it seems unlikely that the sermons are by Pullen. One of them clearly implies that the author was a monk, though there is no reason to think that Pullen was one¹. Courtney, in defence of the attribution, offers some circumstantial evidence that Pullen may have been an Augustinian canon but none of it is very convincing². As has already been said it is plain that in the english set Pullen was preaching as a cleric to clerics, not as a monk nor as a canon regular³.

Courtney points to some stylistic similarities between the two sets of sermons but in fact it is the contrasts that are more apparent. Whereas the english sermons are loose allegories of Old Testament passages, the french sermons are tightly structured short homilies for the various classes of the holy community with texts taken invariably from the gospels⁴.

More substantial perhaps is the fact that one sermon on the text 'Egredimini, filiae Jerusalem' (Cant. 3:11) appears in both the english and the french collections. It is the eleventh of the english set and the last of the french.

1. 'Monachis monachi loquimur'. Ser. 20, MS. Southwark R.C. Cathedral 9, f. 34v.

2. Courtney, op.cit., p. 37.

3. See above p. 25, n. 5.

4. All these arguments are lucidly laid out by B. Smalley, The Becket Conflict and the Schools (Oxford, 1973), pp. 245-6.

However it is something of a rogue sermon. It was the most frequently copied of Pullen's sermons and appears anonymously in many general collections of twelfth century scholastic preachers. It has some material in common with one of Bernard's miscellaneous sermons¹ and has consequently been claimed as a Bernardine sermon². In fact it has far closer parallels with a sermon included amongst Hugh of St. Victor's Miscellanea³ and with sermons on the same text by Peter Lombard⁴ and Peter Comestor⁵. The sharing of such material is not really sufficient reason to attribute all the sermons to a single author. Rather it is an illustration of the fact that different preachers writing sermons on the same text borrowed from the common stock of relevant scholastic exegesis. The attribution of this sermon to Pullen seems to be secured by an unequivocal rubric and the sermon's position in the middle of the english collection. On the other hand its inclusion as the last sermon in the french collection is not sufficient proof that the preceding sermons, written in a quite different style, were by Pullen. Consequently it is only with the english sermons that the thesis will be concerned.

1. Sermo de diversis 50, S. Bernardi Opera, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais (Rome, 1957-77), vi. 270-2.

2. H.-M. Rochais and R.M. Irène Binot, 'La Collection de Textes Divers du MS. Lincoln 201 et S. Bernard', Sacris Erudiri 15 (1964), 54-61. The sermon is edited here as it is in S. Bernardi Opera, vi.-2, 201-7.

3. Miscellanea, iii. 49. P.L. 177:667-8.

4. P.L. 171:352-363.

5. P.L. 198:1772-5.

(ii) Peter Lombard

Peter Lombard was, of course, one of the dominant figures in the twelfth century movement of compilation and systematisation in theological studies. His Sententiae, completed probably in 1158, served as the basic textbook of theology in the schools throughout the middle ages. In addition he wrote glosses on the psalms and the Pauline epistles.

He was born in the last years of the eleventh century in northern Italy. In 1134 he came to Paris where he appears to have been a canon of St. Mary's (1145) and successively subdeacon (1147), deacon and archdeacon (1156/7) before becoming bishop of Paris in 1159. He died the following year¹.

Like Pullen, Peter Lombard enjoyed the patronage of St. Bernard. Bernard did not necessarily know Lombard personally and, in 1134, it was certainly too early for him to be impressed by the 'soundness' or otherwise of Lombard's theology. However, at the promptings of the bishop of Lucca, Bernard assured Lombard's material comforts when the latter was studying in Reims and provided him with a letter of introduction addressed to the abbot of St. Victor asking the abbot to do the same when Lombard moved to Paris to continue his studies².

1. There is a full account of Lombard's life by I. Brady in the introduction to his edition of Lombard's Sententiae (Grottaferrata, Rome, 1971), i. 8*-45*.

2. '. . . rogans ut placeat vobis providere ei in cibo per breve tempus'. Bernard, ep. 160, P.L. 182:619A.

Lombard, though he may not actually have lived in St. Victor, almost certainly heard Hugh lecture and maintained cordial contacts with the house during his life¹. He preached there on a number of occasions and his contributions were clearly appreciated. When the canons drew up a collection of sermons that was frequently copied and evidently admired two of Lombard's sermons were included amongst the predominantly Victorine material².

Thirty four sermons by Lombard have survived. Unlike Pullen's they are explicitly liturgical. Most of them were delivered during Advent and Lent. After Lombard's death some of these sermons were gathered together and circulated as a liturgical cycle. The ensuing collection was the first of a new genre. It provided material suitable to be preached by a master to his pupils and followed the liturgical calendar observed in the schools. It anticipated not only the slightly larger cycles of subsequent twelfth century generations but also the altogether more complete university cycles of the thirteenth century. The collection was one of the most popular of the twelfth century. It consisted generally of about twenty five sermons and is found in fourteen manuscripts of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries³.

1. Brady, op.cit., i. 15*-16*.

2. The two sermons in question are nos. 14 and 31 (following Brady's numbering). The collection is described by J. Chatillon, 'Sermons et Prédicateurs Victorins', A.H.D.L.M.A., 32 (1965), 7-60.

3. The manuscripts and sermons are described by Brady, op.cit., 95*-112* and I have followed his numbering. Most of the sermons are printed in P.L. 171 under the name of Hildebert of Lavardin. See also Schneyer, op.cit., iv. 700-704.

All of Lombard's sermons were delivered in Paris and probably most of them before he became bishop. Some attempts have been made to distinguish sermons in a pastoral exhortatory tone delivered as bishop from the more scholarly pieces of the theology master¹. One or two sermons, such as nos. 12 and 20, are in the nature of the customary appeal to penitents made at the beginning and end of Lent by the bishop of Paris in Notre-Dame². These, together with those preached to the clergy, do suggest the authority of the bishop but in general sermons cannot be convincingly categorised as magisterial or episcopal.

Nor do parallels between material in the sermons and the Sententiae really help³. The coincidence of material does not necessarily imply, as Brady suggests, that such sermons must have been delivered after completion of the Sententiae. Lombard seems to have begun writing the Sententiae in 1155⁴ and he must have been collecting material well before that date. It therefore becomes rather difficult to date sermons containing material also included in the Sententiae with any precision beyond saying that these, like all of Lombard's sermons, were delivered in Paris.

1. Brady, op.cit., p. 37* suggests nos. 4, 12, 13, 17, 18, 20, 28 (delivered to the clergy), 30, 32 (to the clergy) were delivered by Lombard as bishop.

2. Ibid., p. 37*, n. 2.

3. Sermons 4, 12, 17, 18, 24, 26, 27 and 30 have material in common with the Sententiae to some extent.

4. Brady, op.cit., p. 124*. Other writers suggest slightly earlier dates.

(iii) Peter Comestor

The importance of Peter Comestor's preaching activity has never been fully appreciated. He is known primarily, of course, as the author of the Historia Scholastica, a compilation of biblical history that became the standard textbook in the universities and that held a place in the curriculum analagous to that occupied in the teaching of theology by Peter Lombard's Sententiae. However, he was also the author of a collection of sermons that was more popular and widely disseminated than any other contemporary scholastic collection. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries Comestor can hardly have been less well known as a preacher than as the 'master of histories'.

a) Biography

Comestor was born in Troyes c. 1110¹. He was, for a while, a member of the community of St. Loup that in about 1135-6 became an abbey of canons regular². By 1145 he was dean of the cathedral chapter and remained so after his departure for Paris. He was a pupil of Peter Lombard and so must have arrived in Paris some time before 1159, when Lombard

1. For Comestor's biography see S.R. Daly, 'Peter Comestor, Master of Histories', Speculum, 32 (1957), 62-73.

2. The St. Loup necrology contains the notice: 'XII Kal. Nov. [21 Oct.]: Obiit magister Petrus Manducator, Sancti Petri decanus et canonicus Sancti Lupi, qui sepultus est apud Sanctum Victorem Parisiensem'. Obituaires de la Province de Sens (Paris, 1923), iv. (Diocèses de Meaux et de Troyes), p. 297; quoted I. Brady, 'Peter Manducator and the Oral Teaching of Peter Lombard', Antonianum, 41 (1966), 484, n. 1.

ceased teaching to become bishop of Paris. There are various indications of Lombard's influence on Comestor's own theological writings. A prologue to a gloss on Lombard's Sententiae attributes the gloss that should follow to Comestor, though the gloss itself has been lost. Comestor appears also to have written three treatises, De Confessione, De Poenitentia and De Eucharistica which may have been intended to form a complete work on the sacraments, perhaps in the form of a commentary on book four of the Sententiae¹. Similarly in his lectures Comestor reiterated and developed opinions that he had first heard in Lombard's own lectures². He also composed commentaries on each of the four gospels³.

In 1168 Comestor became chancellor of the cathedral chapter and in the following year he was succeeded in the 'chair' of theology by Peter of Poitiers⁴. He remained chancellor until 1178. The Notre-Dame necrology records his death the 22 October (XI Kal. Nov.) and describes him as chancellor⁵. It has therefore been suggested that in all

1. For a discussion of Comestor's possible theological writings see A. Landgraf, 'Les Ecrits de Pierre le Mangeur', R.T.A.M., 3 (1931), 292-306, 341-372 and R.M. Martin, 'Notes sur l'Oeuvre Littéraire de Pierre le Mangeur', ibid., 54-66.

2. Brady, art.cit., pp. 454-90.

3. B. Smalley, 'Peter Comestor on the Gospels and his sources', R.T.A.M., 46 (1979), 84-129.

4. 'Anno 1169: Parisius post magistrum Petum Manducatozem magister Petrus Pictavinus cathedram tenuit theologicam'. Alberic of Trois Fontaines, Recueils des Historians des Gaules et de la France (Paris, 1869-1904), xiii. 712A.

5. Cartulaire de l'Eglise Notre-Dame de Paris, ed. B. Guérard (Paris, 1850), iv. 172.

probability he died in office on the 22 October 1178¹. Chronicle sources date his death to the following year². There is no extant evidence to support the supposition of later historians that he became a canon of St. Victor some time before his death, though he was certainly buried there³.

b) The Sermon Collection

Some 150 sermons are attributed to Comestor, with varying degrees of reliability, by the late twelfth and early thirteenth century manuscripts in which they are found. Before such material can be used in a study of this nature some classification of both sermons and manuscripts is clearly essential. A valuable but avowedly provisional list of sermons to be attributed to Comestor was published by M.-M. Lebreton in 1953⁴. I have used this list as the basis of my study and supplied what amounts to a reorganisation and revision of it in the appendix.

About fifty of Comestor's sermons are printed in volumes 171 (under the name of Hildebert of Lavardin) and 198 of the Patrologia Latina. This has had the advantage of

1. Brady, art.cit., p. 484.

2. Robert of Auxerre (Recueils des Historians des Gaules, xii. 298D), the Canon of Tours (ibid., xii. 478B) and William of Nangis (ibid., xx. 739C). The accounts are dependent and in the case of the last two identical. They make no mention of retirement by Comestor to St. Victor before his death.

Daly, art.cit., p. 72, n. 97.

3. Ibid., p. 69, n. 53.

4. M.-M. Lebreton, 'Les Sermons de Pierre le Mangeur', Bulletin d'Information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 2 (1953), 27-44 and 'Additions et Corrections', ibid., 4 (1955), 35-6.

ensuring that they are relatively well known to modern historians. In contrast it has had the disadvantage of seeming to obviate the need to return to the manuscript sources, with the result that although the sermons have often been used for literary or theological purposes or as sources for social history they have not been set in their proper historical context.

An examination of the manuscripts themselves leads to the somewhat unexpected conclusion that Comestor was by far the most popular university preacher of the twelfth century. A collection of forty sermons, consistently ordered, with recurrent rubrics and a general descriptive attribution to Comestor, is found in at least thirty manuscripts of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries¹. Two of these at least date from as early as 1185² and the collection was still being copied in the fourteenth century³. Inevitably most of the manuscripts come from Northern France but the collection was also known and copied in England and Germany. The manuscripts whose provenance can be more precisely identified were copied in black houses and particularly in communities of Augustinian canons.

1. The appendix gives detailed descriptions of these manuscripts and an analysis of the collection they contain.

2. MS. Tours 344 (MS. X) from St. Martin, Tours can be dated 1185/6 from the note 'factus est liber iste in tempore Guillelmi armarii, anno octavo Hervei abbatis', f. 192vb. The beautiful romanesque binding of MS. B.M. Egerton 272 (MS. M) is attributed to a similar date by H.M. Nixon, 'The Manuscript of the Winton Domesday', Winchester Studies, 1 (1976), 539.

3. MS. Vatican Lat. 1238 (MS. Y) and MS. Turin, Naz. 855 (MS. 6) are dated by their respective catalogues to the fourteenth century. I have not been able to see either of these manuscripts.

The collection was thus immensely popular and, what is more, became so very quickly. No other twelfth century Parisian master was anything like as successful as a preacher. It has been suggested that Comestor's sermons were preserved merely by virtue of his status as chancellor but the sermons of other chancellors, such as Hilduin, Peter of Poitiers or Prevostin, are found in only a handful of manuscripts. Even Stephen Langton's sermons, although found in many manuscripts, were not repeatedly copied as a collection in this way.

The collection is divided into two distinct parts and is given the title 'Ordo Sermonum magistri Petri Manducatoris per anni circulum' or a similar such formula. This rubric calls for several comments, for the collection itself is not quite what one would expect to find after such a title. In the first place the first part of the collection is not a liturgical cycle at all. It consists of sermons to be delivered to various classes of the ecclesiastical community and was obviously intended to supply material, of direct relevance to these groups, that could not be accommodated within the confines of a liturgical cycle. They give some indication of Comestor's preaching activity beyond his immediate pedagogic responsibilities. The first nine sermons of the collection were delivered to the clergy in synod. The next two sermons of the collection were delivered to monks and the following four (the last of the first part) to canons regular on the feast day of St. Augustine. Like Lombard, Comestor had particularly close ties with the Augustinian house of St. Victor and preached there on several occasions.

Whether Comestor preached these sermons before or after becoming chancellor it is impossible to say. Perhaps he was invited to preach to the religious communities of Paris by virtue of that office. On the other hand, his reputation as a preacher and his apparent association with the canons regular may have sufficed. Similarly, as chancellor of the cathedral chapter he might naturally have addressed the local clergy. A Paris master as such would have had no ecclesiastical authority over them, though he might well have been invited by the bishop to preach to a synodal gathering. Comestor could hardly have delivered these sermons before he had established himself as an experienced and respected master, though he may not necessarily have yet been chancellor.

The second part of the collection consists of the liturgical cycle announced in the rubric¹. Comestor did not, however, provide material to be preached for every week of the year as did John of Abbeville or Odo of Cheriton in their much larger collections or even Comestor's contemporary Maurice of Sully. The liturgical year envisaged was clearly that of the schools not of the parish church. The occasions on which Comestor preached were basically those on which other twelfth century Paris masters preached. The collection comprises sermons for Advent (3), St. Nicholas, Epiphany, the Purification of the Virgin, Lent (4), the Annunciation, Holy Week (4), the Ascension, Holy Trinity, Mary Magdalene,

1. It should be noted that in two manuscripts, Cambrai 526 (MS. Q) and Lambeth Palace 176 (MS. R), the order of the two parts of the collection is reversed and the liturgical cycle precedes the communal sermons. See appendix, p. 319.

Jacob and Christopher and Germanus (2 sermons both preached at St. Germain), Peter in Chains, the Assumption, All Saints (2) and two sermons for the consecration of a church. The last eight sermons of the collection are found in fewer manuscripts and, although liturgical, do not form part of the cycle as such.

Comestor's cycle is, thus, of the same type and served the same purposes as Lombard's. The sermons were preached by the master to his pupils, 'in scholis', or in such Paris churches as St. Genevieve, St. Victor and St. Martin¹. Most of the students were secular clerics in minor orders but it is clear from both the context and the rubrics of the sermons that some were priests or members of religious communities.

There is a further point of interest to be derived from the title of the collection. The liturgical sermons were delivered by Comestor as part of his magisterial functions and although he would certainly have continued to preach on liturgical occasions to student audiences the obligation to do so on a regular basis was no longer so pressing once he had resigned his 'chair' of theology and become chancellor. In the thirteenth century the vast bulk of the regular liturgical preaching in the universities was performed by the regent masters and bachelors². The

1. These churches are specified, for example, by the rubrics to sermons 35, 36 and 37 in MS. B.M. Harley 3145 (MS. V). See appendix, pp. 313-4.

2. See, for example, the university cycles studied by M.-M. Davy, Les Sermons Universitaires Parisiens de 1230-31 (Paris, 1931), pp. 19-20 and by A.G. Little and F. Pelster, Oxford Theology and Theologians 1282-1302 (Oxford, 1934), pp. 184-191.

chancellor was obliged to preach only on the two or three most important occasions of the year¹.

Thus, although Comestor may have continued to use his liturgical cycle once he had become chancellor, it seems reasonable to suggest that the cycle was composed and used primarily to fulfil his preaching obligations as a theology master. This suggestion is further supported by the fact that the title consistently refers to Comestor as master and never as chancellor and that it is coupled with a description of the collection as a liturgical cycle and frequently makes no reference to the communal sermons. In itself the rubric might not seem significant were it not for the fact that the sermon collections of Comestor's successors do describe their authors as chancellor². Comestor's sermons, however, were far more firmly established and widely copied as a standard liturgical cycle than were those of Hilduin and Peter of Poitiers, and it may be that it was above all associated with his magisterial career, whatever his subsequent preaching activity.

The collection, in its finished form, was certainly

1. Little and Pelster, op.cit., p. 180.

2. 'In hac prima medietate libri continentur sermones quidam per anni circulum et notulae exceptae de sermonibus magistri Petri Pictavensis, cancellarii Parisiensis'. MS. B.N. 14593, ff. 113vb, 118a, 226b.
'Incipiunt sermones secundum magistrum Hilduinum, cancellarium Parisiensem'. MS. Maz. 774, f. 168a.

envisaged as a unity. In sermon 28, for example, which formed part of the liturgical cycle, Comestor omitted full discussion of the circumcision of Christ on the grounds that, although it was relevant in that context, he had already dealt with it more fully in the first sermon of the collection, which, of course, was a synodal sermon¹. Evidently he expected his audience, or readers, to have access to the complete collection².

I think, therefore, that Comestor himself prepared the collection for 'publication', probably during the last decade of his life, though most of the manuscripts were copied and disseminated after his death. Such alterations as the process involved cannot have been very drastic, though ultimately it is impossible to say how closely the texts represent what Comestor actually preached. They are not artificial literary creations but nor are they reportationes, i.e. notes taken during delivery of the sermon by someone in the audience. There are no obvious signs of revision. The various manuscripts in which the collection is found carry substantially the same texts and I have found only a few examples of what may be alternative drafts³.

1. 'De Circumcisione pertranseo quia saepenumero eam inculcavi et plenius in sermone qui inchoat "Erudimini"'. P.L. 198:1772A.

2. Note also the cross reference in MSS. G, D, I and J from sermon 11 to sermon 24, see appendix, p. 293.

3. Sermon 43 is an example. It is found in only two manuscripts of the collection (G and V) in which version it is printed in the Patrologia (198:1838). A slightly shorter version is found in B.N. 13577 (f. 51a). B. Hauréau, Notices et Extraits de Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque

Comestor's collection was kept in the schools and communities as a work of reference to be used and emulated in the regular round of liturgical and communal preaching. It is, indeed, a prototype of the abundant model collections of the thirteenth century, though inevitably not only are the texts distinctly twelfth not thirteenth century productions but the manuscripts themselves lack the sophisticated scholastic reference aids developed in the thirteenth century to assist the preacher to find quickly the passage he was looking for. There are no indices for example. There is scant summary of material in schematic form and the use of coloured inks is limited. However, some of the manuscripts have tables of contents, most have rubrics indicating the subject matter and intended audience of the sermons, many have subheadings in the margins and there is a single, perhaps authorial, example of a cross-reference. Occasionally manuscripts contain only the collection (MS. L). More often the collection is found with other putative Comestor material (MS. M) or together with sermons by other preachers (MS. I) or with preaching aids such as Alan of Lille's De Arte Praedicandi (MS. N).

The collection was designed as a working tool, to instruct and to help others to instruct. Comestor wanted to reach an audience wider than his own congregations. He

3. (contd.) Nationale (Paris, 1890-93), ii. 260 thinks it is an entirely independent sermon but it deals with much the same material and even on occasions uses the same turns of phrase. The version in the collection was certainly preached in synod. The other was perhaps intended for a more general audience.

propagated the methods and concerns of the Paris schools and the success of his collection shows how badly needed and extremely influential it was.

c) Other Sermons

Many sermons have been attributed to Comestor at one time or another in addition to those of the principal collection. A list of these additional sermons is established in the appendix. 18 sermons are attributed to Comestor on two occasions (appendix, section 7) and a further 71 are attributed to him once only (appendix, section 8). In some cases these indications are contradicted by attributions to other preachers elsewhere and, particularly in the case of the second group, we cannot be certain that these sermons are indeed by Comestor. They and those of the collection are found individually or in small groups in an enormous number of manuscripts scattered throughout Europe. Not surprisingly more of these manuscripts are found in Paris than in any other centre and of these Paris manuscripts more come from St. Victor than any other identifiable medieval community.

The predominance of St. Victor is not surprising. In the first place it was one of the wealthiest of Paris houses. Secondly Comestor had close ties with St. Victor and was buried there after his death. When in the late twelfth century (1175/80 at the earliest), the canons of St. Victor drew up their collection of sermons they included six sermons by Comestor; more, that is, than those of any other 'outsider' (appendix, section 5).

In the Paris manuscripts Comestor's sermons are found in company, and sometimes confused, with those of his contemporaries and other popular preachers of the twelfth century. In particular they are often found with the sermons of Geoffrey Babion, Robert Pullen, St. Bernard, Gebuin of Troyes, Maurice of Sully, Hilduin and others, together with a bedrock of familiar and constantly recurring anonymous preaching.

Sometimes the sermons are organised liturgically, often they are apparently selected haphazardly, either in a bloc or interspersed with material by other preachers. An exception to this rule is MS. B.N. 16505. This thirteenth century manuscript includes, among other things, 28 sermons all for feastdays of the Virgin including four by Comestor (nos. 20, 63, 84, 113)¹. The interest here is that no. 84 was not especially intended by Comestor for this feastday and so an additional closing paragraph in praise of the Virgin, which appears in no other recension of this text, had to be added to make it conform to the general pattern of the collection. In general compilers of these collections did not bother with such adjustments, which explains in part why these sermon manuscripts have so little coherence.

The additional sermons do not differ radically from those of the principal collection though in some cases they are notably less well organised. They include both liturgical and synodal sermons. It is impossible to establish any reliable relationship between them and the sermons of the

1. Ff. 42b-58va.

collection. Comestor may have deliberately left them aside because he considered them substandard or inappropriate for some reason. Alternatively he may have composed them after the collection had been more or less completed and have felt no need to incorporate them. He may also have simply lost track of them. In any event they suffered by exclusion from the collection and were virtually unknown. They serve, however, as an indication that although the collection represents the major and most significant part of Comestor's preaching career it does not constitute the totality.

d) Sermons Falsely Attributed to Comestor

J.B. Schneyer has attributed another collection of sermons to Comestor¹. This collection is quite different from the first and was obviously much less well known. It is found complete in MS. Bodliean Laud Misc. 484 and partially, together with other sermons attributed to Comestor, in MS. Troyes 1515. The collection in the Laud manuscript is extremely interesting. It comprises 43 sermons. The first 24 are for Whitsun, the next 8 for John the Baptist and the last 11 for the apostles Peter and Paul. The manuscript has a convoluted metaphorical prologue in which the author explains that although at first he was attracted to the superficial historical sense of scripture he was led through it to the more profound underlying allegories of the mystical sense and in particular to an

1. J.B. Schneyer, 'Predigten des Petrus Comestor in der Hs. Oxford Bodl. Misc. 484', Scriptorium, 21 (1967), 277-283.

understanding of the descent of the holy Spirit which was vouched safe to him as though in a vision¹. These sermons, explains the author, are an attempt to describe that vision and indeed they form what amounts to a continuous contemplative treatise on the holy Spirit, dealing with its descent (Whitsun), the announcement of its coming (John the Baptist) and its first human descendants (the apostles).

The 24 Whitsun sermons include two groups of sermons, one of four, the other of eight, that are quite deliberate self-conscious collections. Each group shares a single text and therefore a single allegorical motif. Each sermon within the group forms, effectively, a chapter of a single work. The first sermon of the group of eight introduces the allegorical interpretation of the text, and each of the successive sermons deals with one of the sacred virtues. The order in which these sermons follow is important since they thus describe the hierarchy and progression of the virtues, each tempered by, and dependent upon, the next. The other group of four sermons discuss in turn the four orders of the Church; the clergy, the novices, the baptised and the just. The Laud manuscript is anonymous and the style and subject matter are far from that of the familiar Comestor of the schools. Moreover, it is precisely these feasts of Pentecost, John the Baptist and the apostles which are absent from his standard collection.

The only reason that these sermons have been attributed

1. The prologue is printed by Schneyer, ibid., p. 278.

to Comestor is that some of them appear in another manuscript, Troyes 1515. This manuscript comes from Clairvaux. It contains 49 sermons, for the most part organised around the liturgical year, though it is not a de tempore cycle, there being for example no sermons for Lent or for Holy Week. The manuscript has no prologue but it has a contents page in which the sermons are grouped under common headings. The first seven sermons are entitled 'In Nativitate Domini', three of which take the same text ('Accipe puerum istum'; Exod. 2:9) and which appear to have been preached on successive years. Other groups of sermons in the manuscript form a cogent collection. The three sermons for the Assumption of the Virgin, for example, share and develop the parallels between Mary and Esther.

The first seven sermons of the Laud manuscript, including the group of four dealing with the four categories of the faithful, reappear in Troyes 1515 with the rubric 'In die Pentecostes'. The Troyes manuscript also has in common with the Laud manuscript five sermons for the apostles Peter and Paul, three of which are grouped together in the Troyes manuscript. In addition, the Troyes manuscript contains another group of three sermons for the Assumption and a group of three sermons for All Saints, though neither of these are related thematically. There are also single sermons for the Ascension, Epiphany, the Purification, St. Benedict, the consecration of a church and a Paris synodal sermon. The Troyes manuscript is therefore a much more conventional collection of sermons than the Laud manuscript though, perhaps

under the influence of the Laud manuscript, there has been some attempt to organise the sermons into groups and to interrelate them through use of sustained allegorical motifs. In total the two manuscripts have thirteen sermons in common (eight for Whitsun and five for Peter and Paul) and the remaining sermons found in these manuscripts are found nowhere else¹.

The first group of sermons for the Nativity is headed on the contents page of the Troyes manuscript in a rough hand in red ink 'In Nativitate Domini, magister Petrus Comestor'. It is on the basis of this rubric alone that all the sermons in both manuscripts have been attributed to Comestor. Such a conclusion is clearly unwarranted. The validity of the rubric is ambiguous but at best it can be taken as referring to the first sermon only (and by extension, perhaps, to the other sermons in the group) and certainly not to the manuscript as a whole.

Moreover, there are slight discrepancies between the order of the sermons announced on the contents page of the Troyes manuscript and the order of sermons as they actually follow in the manuscript itself. It suggests the possibility that the contents page was originally intended for another manuscript, now lost, from which the surviving one was copied². This diminishes the authority of the

1. The only exception is sermon 133 which in addition to MS. Laud 484, f. 4 and MS. Troyes 1515, f. 42 is found in MS. Q, f. 132v.

2. The Troyes manuscript has been systematically corrected. At the foot of each quire in the ink and hand of the corrections themselves is the word 'correctus'.

rubric still further and it is, I think, only prudent to work on the assumption that none of the sermons in either manuscript is by Comestor.

(iv) Hilduin

Virtually nothing at all is known about Hilduin except that he was chancellor of Notre-Dame from 1178 to 1190¹. No works are attributed to him other than a collection of sermons, some of which are attributed elsewhere to Peter Comestor or Gebuin of Troyes². The collection is headed 'Incipiunt sermons secundum magistrum Hylduinum, cancellarium Parisiensem' and consists of 42 sermons for the liturgical year and for synodal and monastic preaching, in no particular order. The style of the sermons is very similar to Comestor's. Frequently, indeed, rubricators and scribes confused the two and attributed the same sermon to each of them in different manuscripts.

A further 38 sermons divided into three groups are attributed to 'Hildwini' in a Cambridge manuscript³. The second group, which consists of 7 sermons, includes one that is also found in the Paris collection. Of the 26 sermons in the third group twenty are included in the Paris collection.

1. Longère, op.cit., i. 21-2.

2. MS. Maz. 774, ff. 168-265v. Schneyer, op.cit., v. 715-720.

3. MS. Cantab. Univ. Ii-I-24, pp. 229-40, 257-273, 279-331.

It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the Paris chancellor was author of both collections. The Cambridge manuscript includes other scholastic preaching material, Alan of Lille's De Arte Praedicandi and Comestor's standard collection for example, but seems to have a particularly english bias. It contains sermons by William de Montibus and Alexander Nequam, and Alexander of Ashby's Ars de Modo Praedicandi. The manuscript may, therefore, lend some slight support to the suggestion that Hilduin was an englishman¹.

(v) Peter of Poitiers

In many respects Peter of Poitiers' career resembles and was clearly influenced by Comestor's. He was born, presumably in the Poitou, in about 1130². He heard Comestor lecture³ and succeeded him to the 'chair' of theology in 1169. He shared Comestor's interest in biblical history and was probably the author of the Historia Actuum Apostolorum which forms the last two books of the Historia Scholastica. In addition to his historical writing he made important contributions to theological study and biblical exegesis. His Sententiae show evidence of the further application of dialectics to

1. Catalogue of Manuscripts, University Library, Cambridge (1858), iii. 340.

2. The basic work is Ph. S. Moore, The Works of Peter of Poitiers (Catholic Univ. of America, 1936).

3. Brady, 'The Oral Teaching of Peter Lombard', p. 482.

theology and his commentary on the psalms replaced traditional patristic exegesis with scholastic 'distinctions'. Both these developments are reflected in Peter's sermons and had consequences for scholastic preaching generally. He became chancellor in 1193 and remained so until his death in 1205.

A total of 59 sermons attributed to Peter have survived¹. They are sermons of the same nature and compiled for the same purposes as those by Lombard and Comestor. Peter preached in the schools as master to his students throughout the liturgical year and to the priests and religious communities of Paris. His liturgical cycle was larger than those of his predecessors however. It contained 55 or 56 sermons and began with those for All Saints rather than for Advent. The extra sermons are accounted for by the fact that Peter left rather more for each of the customary liturgical occasions. Apart from two for St. Martin he does not appear to have preached on any additional occasions on which his predecessors did not. His nine synodal sermons are found in the middle of the liturgical collection, between sermons for the Resurrection and the Ascension, rather than being placed outside it like Comestor's. His sermons were much less well known than those of Lombard or Comestor. The complete liturgical collection is found in two manuscripts only².

1. Moore, op.cit., pp. 123-139.

2. MS. B.N. 14593, ff. 289a-351va. (The collection contains 56 sermons headed 'Incipiunt sermones magistri Petri P.' The manuscript is early xiii. century from St. Victor. The first part of it, originally entirely independent,

(vi) Alan of Lille

The broadening social consciousness that began to modify Paris scholarship towards the end of the twelfth century finds one of its earliest and most interesting expressions in the career and scholarly output of Alan of Lille¹. His work has wider practical and pastoral objectives than had hitherto been apparent in previous Paris masters and as a preacher he envisaged lay audiences beyond the scholastic and ecclesiastical communities to which Paris masters had almost exclusively addressed themselves in the past.

Alan was born in about 1130 and taught theology in Paris until about 1180. He then moved to the Midi where he taught at Montpellier and became involved in the campaign against the Cathars. He eventually retired to Cîteaux where he died in 1203.

His literary activity broadly mirrors his career. His theological works, the 'summa' Quoniam Homines, the De Virtutibus et de Vitiis and the Regulae Caelestis Iuris date from his Paris years as does the philosophical poetry, the De Planctu Naturae and the Anticlaudianus. The polemical and pastoral works such as the De Fide Catholica, the De Arte Praedicandi and the Liber Poenitentialis were

2 (contd.) carries second copies of some of these sermons together with sermons by other Paris masters and miscellaneous scholastic material), MS. Bod. Laud Misc. 269, ff. 2-109. (The collection contains 55 sermons and is anonymous. The manuscript is early xiii. century).

1. The standard work on Alan's literary output is M.-T. d'Alverny, Alain de Lille Textes Inédits (Paris, 1965).

completed after his move to the Midi.

Clearly his contact with the Cathars in the Midi was an important stimulus to his pastoral, and particularly polemical, output. Nevertheless it is important not to overemphasise their role in turning a Paris master to pastoral writing. The evolution is entirely explicable in the context of the growing concern in Paris scholarship with the management of lay society. Works such as the De Arte Praedicandi and the Liber Poenitentialis were products of the development, in Paris as elsewhere, of an 'applied' or practical branch of theology. Alan began work on them in Paris and they were revised and completed in the Midi. It is striking, too, that Alan made virtually no mention, either in the De Arte Praedicandi or in his sermons, of Catharism and denounced the dangers of heresy in general no more frequently than did more conventional Paris preachers.

Alan's sermons are, both in themselves and in the manner of their recension, rather different from those of his predecessors¹. Most of them were delivered to the same sorts of audiences as Lombard's or Comestor's, but unlike the sermons of these latter they were not gathered together as a scholastic liturgical cycle as such. In part, no doubt, this was due to the fact that Alan left Paris when he did and never became associated, unlike Lombard and Comestor, with the cathedral chapter. As a result his sermons were not widely known. Most of them survive in only three or

1. For the sermons d'Alverny, op.cit., pp. 109-40.

four copies. However, it appears that after Alan's death some of his students at Montpellier gathered together seventeen of his sermons. This collection survives in one manuscript and there is evidence that it might have been copied in at least one other also¹.

Apart from this scholarly and ecclesiastical preaching Alan both preached to the laity and provided material in the De Arte Praedicandi and the Liber Sermonum to be preached to them. As has frequently been pointed out, the De Arte Praedicandi has little more in common with the thirteenth century rhetorical treatises of which it appears to be a forerunner than its name. Only the first chapter deals in theoretical terms with the process of sermon construction, though the sermon envisaged is clearly scholastic in structure and Alan managed to compress into a very brief passage the essentials of what was to be dealt with at greater length by thirteenth century theorists. For the rest, the De Arte Praedicandi is rather a collection of commonplaces and authorities presented in the form of miniature skeletal sermons grouped first by subject and then by envisaged audience (the so-called ad status genre). Some of these were clearly directed at the clergy themselves. Alan used the De Arte Praedicandi both to instruct them and to raise their standards

1. MSS. Toulouse 195 (mid. xiii, provençal hand, contains also the Liber Poenitentialis, the De Arte Praedicandi and the Liber Sermonum) and Vatican Lat. 10807 (contains fragments in an early xiii cent. meridional hand) respectively. See d'Alverny, op.cit., p. 119.

of religious and moral conduct. In some respects, as d'Alverny has suggested, the De Arte Praedicandi is, no less than Peter the Chanter's Verbum Abbreviatum with which it has much in common, a compilation of practical theology¹. However, in so far as the clergy's particular responsibility to preach was concerned Alan went beyond verbal encouragement and instruction and in the De Arte Praedicandi provided them with relevant material and an outline structure from which they could construct a sermon on the subject or to the audience in question².

The Liber Sermonum was attached to the final versions of the De Arte Praedicandi. It consists of 27 sermons that follow the liturgical calendar, but they do not constitute a homogenous collection in the same way as do those by Lombard and Comestor. The sermons differ in style and content. Some of them are homilies, imaginative renderings of biblical passages in contemporary terms. As such they are strangely at variance with the theory and practice implied by the De Arte Praedicandi itself. There seems no reason to doubt that they were actually preached by Alan, probably to lay audiences. Others, however, are far more substantial in content and scholastic in structure. They seem more likely to be adaptations of existing material that had originally been intended for scholastic audiences and in some cases indeed the original scholastic sermon and the version adapted

1. Ibid., p. 148.

2. On Alan's De Arte Praedicandi see below, pp. 157-9.

for the Liber Sermonum have both survived and may be compared. Where Alan had suitable material ready prepared he included it in the collection. Where he did not he adapted existing scholastic material for the purpose. Consequently the sermons could serve various audiences. The former might be enjoyed by the simplest of them. The latter were probably intended for the more educated laity, the clergy themselves and student audiences. In any event the preacher was provided with material to suit a variety of audiences and occasions from which he could select as appropriate. It is in this wider concept of preaching and the recognition of the need to provide reference material and preaching aids for those who were to preach on a regular basis that Alan anticipated the social context of thirteenth century mendicant preaching.

(vii) Stephen Langton

Langton is probably the best known and certainly the most prolific of the preachers whose sermons form the subject of this thesis. The outlines of his career should be familiar¹. He was an englishman, born in Lincolnshire, and he studied in Paris between 1170 and 1207. There he proved a prodigious biblical scholar. He was the first to write a series of glosses on all the books of the bible and he played an important role in the evolution of the modern

1. For the biography see Ph. B. Roberts, Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton (Toronto, 1968), pp. 1-15 and F.M. Powicke, Stephen Langton (Oxford, 1928), passim.

chapter divisions.¹ He seems also to have frequented the reforming circles of Peter the Chanter and to have taken part in their discussions of ecclesiastical theories of economics and government².

In 1206 he was elected archbishop of Canterbury with the support and in the presence of the pope but contrary to the wishes of King John who refused him permission to enter the kingdom. When he was finally admitted to England in 1213 he played a mediatory role in the conflict between king and barons that produced Magna Carta. His concern to limit papal interference in the internal affairs of both the country and of its church led to his suspension from office when, in 1215, he refused to excommunicate those barons who defended Magna Carta. He had already made plans to go to Rome in order to attend the fourth Lateran council and while there he explained his conduct to the pope and was reinstated. As archbishop he made attempts to implement locally the reforms of the council and in particular issued a set of statutes for Canterbury largely modelled on its decrees. He played an important part in the government of England during the minority of Henry III and died in 1228.

Langton's sermons pose the same sort of problems as Comestor's but on a larger scale. As many as 500 sermons have been attributed to him and the difficulties of attribution

1. B. Smalley, 'Studies on the Commentaries of Cardinal Stephen Langton', A.D.H.L.M.A., 5 (1930), 15-16.

2. Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants, passim.

are further complicated by the fact that his sermons were not circulated as a standard collection in the same way that Comestor's were. Towards the end of Langton's life attempts were made to gather together all of his sermons into a single collection but the sermons seem to have been known and copied initially in the many anthologies of scholastic preaching that circulated in Paris at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries¹.

Fortunately they have benefited from an extremely thorough study by Phyllis Roberts who has examined and classified all the sermons attributed to Langton and the manuscripts in which they are found. She concludes that 122 sermons may be considered with some confidence to be by Langton since each is attributed to him in at least two manuscripts².

One might expect that most of these sermons would have been delivered by Langton during his period as archbishop with all the pastoral responsibilities that the office entailed but Roberts, on the contrary, considers that, with few exceptions, the sermons date from Langton's Paris years³. She does so on the grounds that Langton's sermons are generally found in Paris manuscripts in company with the sermons of other Paris masters, that they make reference to the french monarch and capital rather than to the english, that they include sermons preached on the feast days of saints, such as Katherine and Genevieve, whose cults were

1. Roberts, op.cit., pp. 58-59.

2. Ibid., pp. 29-32.

3. Ibid., pp. 67-73.

particularly observed in Paris and that they include occasional words and proverbs in french.

Like all the other preachers included in this study, therefore, Langton seems to have preached as a regent master in Paris. However, Roberts also concludes that, in sharp contrast to these other preachers, Langton preached primarily not to his students as part of his magisterial responsibilities but rather to the laity¹. Indeed, her whole study is designed to present Langton as 'a very important popular preacher in the evangelical movement in Paris in the second half of the twelfth century' and as a precursor of the mendicant preachers of the thirteenth century².

This conclusion is necessarily based on internal evidence. Very few of Langton's sermons are explicitly described as 'ad populum'³. Chronicle accounts of Langton's preaching refer to only three specific occasions on which he addressed the laity as archbishop of Canterbury and he clearly took part in the papal preaching campaigns against usury, described by Mathew Paris, well after he had finished teaching in Paris⁴.

Internal evidence is extremely difficult to interpret. David d'Avray has warned of the dangers of assessing the nature of an audience on the basis of internal evidence alone and has shown that in the mid-thirteenth century substantially

1. Ibid., p. 52.
 2. Ibid., p. 131.
 3. Ibid., p. 47.
 4. Ibid., pp. 17-21.

the same material could be delivered to both lay and clerical audiences¹.

In the late twelfth century, however, sermon production was far less standardised than it was to become by the mid-thirteenth. Langton's sermons do show important differences from those of the earlier Paris masters. He was the first Paris master to include exempla in his sermons, moralised anecdotes designed to instruct simpler audiences in particular while at the same time holding their attention. Sermons to the laity would have been delivered in the vernacular (though subsequently translated into latin to be preserved and disseminated) and Langton's latin texts carry the occasional vernacular word or proverb. The inclusion of such material is often taken as evidence that the whole sermon was delivered in the vernacular to a lay audience. It need not necessarily do so. A preacher preaching in latin to clerics may still have found the occasional vernacular word or proverb more apposite. It is noteworthy, however, that no such vernacular appears in the sermons of the earlier Paris masters.

More fundamentally, at a time when Peter of Poitiers was preaching sermons to his clerical audiences that were notably more scholastic in structure Langton chose to dilute the scholastic nature of his sermons, and there are corresponding changes of nuance in content and imagery. The sermons are markedly simpler not only than Peter of Poitiers' but also than Comestor's. There is less use of 'distinction' and in

1. d'Avray, 'The Transformation of the Medieval Sermon', p. 126.

some cases Langton reverted to almost homiletic forms.

For reasons such as these Roberts considered that the sermons must have been delivered to lay audiences. This seems to me unlikely. No doubt some members of the laity joined clerical audiences to hear the masters preach. At the end of the century Alexander Nequam preached to mixed audiences of laity and clerics but he clearly distinguished those sections of the sermon intended for each¹. Langton did not. Sermons certainly delivered by him to clerical audiences share the distinctive features of his preaching style. It is difficult to envisage in what circumstances a Paris master could have preached on a regular basis to lay audiences and the fact that Langton's sermons were included in general collections of scholastic preaching by Paris masters rather suggests that they were designed to serve the same purposes as those by his contemporaries and predecessors. Like Lombard and Comestor, Langton was obliged to preach on a regular basis to his students and most of his sermons could happily have served that purpose. The lack of a liturgical collection as such may be explained by the fact that he, like Alan of Lille, left Paris in mid-career.

Nevertheless the innovations and developments in Langton's preaching are significant. The comparative restraint of scholastic method and the introduction of new techniques were designed to make the sermon more accessible,

1. R.W. Hunt, 'Alexander Nequam' (Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 1936), pp. 99-100.

not to the laity specifically but to audiences in general. Such innovations facilitated the evolution of a sermon form that, in the thirteenth century, could be delivered to laity and clerics alike. Langton was not an evangelical preacher but he participated, like Alan, in the process of reshaping and redirecting scholastic preaching that was produced by the changing orientation of Paris scholasticism itself. In this respect Roberts' view of Langton as motivated by the same ideals that formed the Dominicans may indeed be justified.

(viii) Prevostin of Cremona

The Prevostin whose life and works were the subject of Georges Lacombe's study, published in 1927, was a rather more original figure than that now known to modern historians¹. Several interesting and unusual works, notably the Summa de Penitentia Iniungenda² and the Summa contra Haereticos³, that Lacombe attributed to Prevostin are not now considered to be by him. As a result Prevostin can no longer be regarded as a predominant figure in the Church's polemical campaigns nor in the development of a more subjective and flexible theology of sin and penance, though he was nevertheless influenced by both. Instead, he emerges as a successful and conventional Parisian academic at the turn of the century.

1. G. Lacombe, La Vie et les Oeuvres de Prevotin (Kain, 1927).

2. L. Hodl, Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Literatur und der Theologie der Schlusselgewalt (Munster, 1960), i. 276-289.

3. A. Borst in Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte, 70 (1959), 166-9.

He was born in northern Italy, probably Cremona, between 1140 and 1150 and perhaps studied law in Bologna¹ before moving to Paris to pursue his theological studies². In 1194/5 he was appointed 'scolasticus' of Metz Cathedral (with much the same sort of responsibilities as a Paris chancellor) and remained there until a serious disagreement with Innocent III over the succession to the archbishopric led to his resignation. The row was evidently patched up because by 1206 Prevostin was both chancellor of Paris and employed by the pope as judge delegate. He remained such until his death in 1210.

Prevostin's sermons are found in various more or less independent collections³. The largest of these, consisting of 30 sermons, is contained in a St. Victor manuscript⁴. Lacombe dates it to Prevostin's period as chancellor. The sermons have no rubrics and the only attribution to Prevostin is on the flyleaf in another, probably contemporary, hand⁵. The collection is not organised liturgically and although individual sermons are found in other Paris manuscripts there is no reason to think that the collection itself was widely known or copied⁶.

1. Lacombe, op.cit., p. 9. Familiarity with the law is occasionally reflected in his sermons, see below p. 109, n. 2.
 2. Since the Quaestiones can no longer be attributed to Prevostin there is no reason to think that his master in Paris was Maurice of Sully. See, J.A. Corbett, Praepositini Cremonensis Tractatus de Officiis (Univ. of Notre Dame, 1969), p. xii, n. 9.

3. Schneyer, op.cit., iv. 875. Lacombe, op.cit., pp. 183-200.

4. MS. Arsenal 543, ff. 203-245.

5. 'In hoc libro continentur sermones magistri Praepositini, cancellarii Parisiensis'.

6. Various rubrics in this manuscript indicate some of

Lacombe attributes a further dozen or so sermons found in two german manuscripts to Prevostin's period in Metz.

Finally, 19 sermons are attributed to Prevostin in a British Museum manuscript¹. Several of these are, in fact, by Geoffrey Babion and the last two items are not sermons at all but exempla. The first piece in the collection is the prologue to Prevostin's Summa super Psalterium. It is headed 'accessus ad populum' but it is clear from the text that it must have been intended for a clerical audience² and Lacombe plausibly suggests that the rubric is a misreading for 'accessus ad psalterium'³.

Prevostin's style of preaching shared some characteristics with Langton's. Like Langton, Prevostin diluted the scholastic nature of the sermon, restricted the use of 'distinction' and turned to rediscovered illustrative devices such as the exemplum. Like Langton, Prevostin may have had in mind the wider lay audience to whom the Church would ultimately have to address itself and perhaps also any layfolk who ventured to sit in on scholastic preaching. There can be little doubt,

6 (contd.) the churches in which the sermons were delivered: St. Martin (f. 205), St. Victor (f. 206), St. Magloire (f. 219), St. Genevieve (f. 222), St. Denis (f. 230).

1. MS. B.M. Add. 18335, ff. 2v-25. At the head of the collection is the rubric 'Sermones Praepositini'.

2. 'Ad vos viri litterati et contemplativi sermo iste dirigitur'. F. 2v.

3. Op.cit., p. 5.

however, that in the first instance Prevostin, like Langton, preached as a master to his students.

Chapter 3. Preaching Techniques

The sermons under study may be regarded as a product of the revival of scholastic activity, and in particular of biblical study, in the twelfth century. They consisted, in essentials, of the exegesis of a biblical text for didactic purposes. The bible was at the heart of the whole scholastic process. The procedures of textual analysis, historical research and symbolic interpretation provided scholastic culture with its raw material and served as its training ground. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Paris masters brought to, and adapted for, their preaching the techniques and assumptions of the biblical exegesis that they regularly practised in the schools.

The sermon was not, however, a biblical commentary. It used the bible and the established techniques of exegesis for its own purposes and with its own emphasis. As the twelfth century progressed the sermon gradually established itself as an independent academic form with its own characteristic methodology and structure. In a manner analagous to theology the sermon developed as a form of essay on a specified subject dealt with comprehensively, rather than as a discussion of the diverse and often unrelated material to be found in a given biblical text. The sermon never incorporated the purely logical devices of theological argument such as the syllogism or the quaestio. Nor, unlike theology, did it ever detach itself from its biblical context. One might say, somewhat schematically, that the sermon stands

at some point along the continuous line of bible-based study that has the gloss at one end and the sententiae at the other.

Any intellectual culture when viewed by an external observer may appear arbitrary. The sermon was a form of argument intended to instruct and persuade its student and clerical audiences. Yet if the premises and methods from which the argument was constructed were not accepted as axioms then the arguments themselves carried no force. Paris masters were well aware of this. They preached, on the whole, to student audiences who were trained in the methods of the schools, but a proper intellectual formation, however important, was not of itself sufficient. Exegesis was a religious process, scholasticism merely a way of organising and systematising it. Preachers constantly emphasised that an adequate moral and religious preparation for the scholar was just as important as an academic training. The scholar had to approach the text in a humble and devout frame of mind, in search of God, morally prepared both spiritually and physically¹. Ultimately the only test of the validity of an allegorical interpretation of a biblical text was whether or not it was consistent with established christian doctrine².

1. e.g. Langton in his inaugural lecture: 'Discenedi quinque sunt admodum necessaria; vitae munditia, cordis simplicitas, attentio mentis, humilitas et mansuetudo'. Ed. Roberts, Stephen Langton, p. 233. This seems to be a development of a phrase of Bernard of Chartres, recorded by John of Salisbury:

'Mens humilis, studium quaerendi, vita quieta, scrutinium tacitum, paupertas, terra aliena, haec reserare solent multis obscura legendo'.

Policraticus, Lib. vii. c. xiii. (ed. C. Webb, 1909, ii. 145).

2. Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, p. 261.

It is hardly overstating the case to say that the exegete had to approach the text already convinced of the truths he hoped to discover there. In the discussion that follows it is important to remember that beneath the sophistication of scholastic technique lay the indispensibility of faith.

(i) Symbolism

The fundamental premise upon which twelfth century christian scholarship was based was that the bible was written in symbolic language. Its most profound and important truths were to be found couched in symbols of various sorts beneath the surface of the text itself. Nevertheless, without for a moment challenging the supremacy of symbolic interpretation, as was to happen in the thirteenth century, scholastic exegesis in the twelfth century was characterised by a revival of interest in the letter of the text¹. A close study of the mechanism of language and the history that it related provided a secure foundation upon which to construct the edifice of symbolic interpretation. Apparent grammatical solecisms and inconsequential historical incidents served as signposts directing the christian to the profounder symbolic meaning of the bible. Renewed interest in biblical history led inevitably to an emphasis upon study of the Old Testament and that in turn to consultation with jewish scholars by christian exegetes whose hebrew, in general, was virtually non-existent². The Jews helped to clarify the literal

1. Ibid., pp. 214-242.

2. Prevostin may have known more than most. See Lacombe, Prevostin, p. 6 and a similar passage in the sermon 'Stabat iuxta crucem. . .' MS. B.M. Add. 18835, f. 14v.

reading of the text which, if impaired, might distort or obscure the symbolism it contained. Prevostin interpreted Sion allegorically as the Virgin Mary but found his symbolism contradicted by the vulgate text 'Numquid Sion dicet homo et homo natus est in ea. . .' (Ps 86:5). If Sion was indeed a symbol for the Virgin then it could certainly be said that Christ was born of her. Prevostin supposed that the text must be corrupt and found another translation that better accorded with his interpretation¹.

Frequently a preacher's first approach to the text of his sermon was to comment on its vocabulary or grammar, or to set it in an historical context. Sometimes such remarks served merely as a prelude to subsequent symbolic interpretation of the text, but often they provided its point of departure or justification. Peter of Poitiers, for example, discussed in his sermon on the text 'Beatus et sanctus qui habet partem in resurrectione prima et in his secunda mors non habet potestatem' (Apoc. 20:6) the grammatical inconsistency between the opening adjectives in the singular and the following plural pronoun. He explained the apparent solecism by interpreting the passage symbolically as a description of the body of the elect who are many in number but united in

1. 'Syon virginalis est beata virgo Maria de qua illud convenienter intelligitur: "Numquid Syon dicet homo" etc., id est, numquid homo dicet Syon est mater mea? Absque dubio dicet, unde alia translatio habet "Mater Syon dicet homo, homo enim natus est in ea et ipse fundavit eam altissimus"'. Ser. 'Sicut letantium. . .' MS. B.M. Add. 18835, f. 4v.

a single nature of soul¹.

Similarly Prevostin had difficulty deciding who was to be understood symbolically as the subject of the text 'He is like a tree' (Ps. 1:3). Augustine had said that the sentence referred to Christ. Jerome, on the contrary, thought that it might describe any saint. Since the psalm in which the verse occurs was used in the liturgy for the feasts of martyrs and confessors Prevostin's instincts inclined him to Jerome's view. The argument was clinched for him however by considerations of language. The subject of the verse is described as meditating, and Christ, explained Prevostin, could only be said to contemplate not to meditate. So, he concluded, Jerome must be right².

A similar combination of scientific interest in language and its symbolic interpretation is manifest in the use of etymologies. Etymology was a traditional patristic device for uncovering the symbolic meaning of words and particularly

1. Illustrative text 3, p. 285, ll. 215-222.

2. 'Etsi beatus Augustinus et alii quidam sancti patres psalmum de quo sumptus est iste versus de Christo exponat, beatus tamen Hieronimus eundem de quolibet viro sancto dicit exponendum, cui tota consentit ecclesia quae in festo unius martiris vel confessoris ad laudem eius hunc psalmum decantat. Nam verba praecedentia hunc versum de capite (f. 210a) nostro, siquis diligenter attendat non posse dici videntur, sicut est illud verbum "In lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte". Non enim Christus meditabatur sed contemplabatur. Aliud est enim cogitatio, aliud meditatio, aliud contemplatio. Cogitatio surgit ex imaginatione, meditatio ex ratione, contemplatio ex intellectu. In cogitatione nisi sequatur contemplatio vel meditatio est labor sine fructu. In contemplatione est labor cum fructu, in contemplatione fructus sine labore'. Ser. 'Et erit tamquam lignum. . . MS. Arsenal 543, f. 209vb.

of names but its use by twelfth century preachers reflects also a serious interest in the origin and derivation of language. On the rare occasions, for example, when Comestor knew the greek root of a word in his latin text he gave it¹.

The medieval concept of etymology was somewhat broader than the modern². It included not only the strict derivation of the word but any sort of exposition that helped to elucidate the sense. Peter of Poitiers' etymology of 'homo' from 'humus' was not intended as a derivation but rather as an exposition of the nature of man by comparison with the familiar qualities of earth. The association, of course, was suggested by the similarity of the two words to each other³. Similarly, Comestor in several synodal sermons borrowed from Isidore the etymology of 'sacerdos' as 'sacrum dans' in order to emphasise the sacramental function of the priesthood⁴.

The etymology or interpretation of names in the Old Testament was a further traditional source of exegesis. The interplay of such interpretations with the habit of biblical symbolism may be observed in Pullen's treatment of the figure of Lot in his sermon 'Quatuor reges adversus quinque. . .'

1. e.g. Ser. 15, P.L. 198:1721.

2. B. Guenée, Histoire et Culture Historique dans l'Occident Médiéval (Paris, 1980), pp. 184-191.

3. ' . . . in eo designatur quod "homo" quasi ab "humo" dicitur'. Ser. 'Inspiravit Deus. . .' MS. B.N. 14593, f. 332b.

4. e.g. Ser. 9, P.L. 198:1812D (Isidore, Etymologiae, Lib. vii, c. 12).

(illustrative text 1). The name, Pullen explained, meant a falling away (declinatio), a piece of information that ultimately derived from the basic source for such material, Jerome's Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum¹.

However, Lot himself Pullen interpreted as a symbol of the soul. As a combination of the two, therefore, Lot represented the unfaithful soul and thus morally reenacted his physical departure described in the biblical text. In this way the historical figure could be fitted into the moral schema that Pullen drew from the narrative account².

Interest in the literal sense of the biblical text and in the events and individuals with which it dealt was germane to the study of biblical history. The literal sense served as a source of historical information. A certain historical awareness is apparent in these preachers, especially in those, such as Comestor and Peter of Poitiers, who were specialists in biblical history. Frequently knowledge of the historical background was at least as important in the understanding of the literal meaning of a text as linguistic analysis. Comestor's first instinct when faced with the text 'Surely the Lord is in this place and I knew it not' (Gen. 28:16) was to set it in its historical context in order to understand the primary literal meaning:

We must find out, therefore, who spoke these words, where, when and why. Why? Genesis tells us that Jacob the patriarch spoke them.

1. Ed. Corpus Christianorum Series Lat. 72, p. 68.

2. P. 264, ll. 63-74.

Where ? In Bethel. When ? After he had left Beer-Sheba on his way to Haran. Why ? Because he had seen angels in a dream.¹

Then Comestor put the information together. Jacob, coming from Beer-Sheba on his way to Haran lay down to sleep for the night, took a stone as his pillow and dreamt of the ladder that stretched from earth to heaven with angels ascending and descending on it. On awakening Jacob cried out 'surely the Lord is in this place'. Having thus firmly established the historical context Comestor felt free to interpret Jacob's journey symbolically as the journey of the Christian from evil to good. Similarly in his sermon on the text 'When Pharoah calls you and says "What is your occupation"' (Gen. 46:34) Comestor began by explaining who was speaking and to whom and by giving some background information on the general situation in Egypt at the time².

Not all preachers took the trouble to elucidate the biblical context in this way. Prevostin's approach to a similar situation was quite unhistorical. His response to the text 'Jesse took an ass laden with bread and a skin of wine and a kid and sent them by David his son to Saul' (1 Sam. 16:20) was to dispense with any historical information and to proceed immediately to the more important symbolic interpretation:

1. 'Videndum est quis haec verba dixerit, et ubi, et quando, et quare. Quis ? Jacob patriarcha legitur in Genesi haec protulisse. Ubi ? In Bethel. Quando ? Cum exiret de Bersabee et pergeret in [H]aram. Quare ? Ostensa sunt angelica visione'. Ser. 45, P.L. 171:744D.

2. Ser. 8, P.L. 198:1809.

Who is Jesse, who Saul, who David ? Jesse means 'a fire', Saul 'a plea', David 'a strong hand'. Saul is Christ, David represents ourselves or what we should be, Jesse is the holy spirit.¹

To those who were interested in the text itself it could also prove useful to give some introductory material about the author. Comestor gave some brief information on Amos' background at the beginning of a sermon on a text taken from the prophet² and Peter of Poitiers explained the circumstances of John's composition of the Apocalypse before turning to an examination of the text itself³.

Where there appeared to be contradictions or inconsistencies an understanding of the historical reality, no less than symbolic interpretation, of the Old Testament could provide explanations. Comestor for example displayed an unusual grasp of the historical situation of the Jews when he suggested that the reason that they worshipped the one God but were not permitted knowledge of the Trinity was that recognition of the three persons in the one substance could only have been understood by the surrounding tribes as a form of paganism⁴.

1. 'Quis est Isai, quis Saul, quis David ? Isai interpretatur 'incendium', Saul 'petitio', David 'manus fortis'. Saul est Christus, David nos sumus vel esse debemus, Isai Spiritus sanctus'. Ser. 'Accepit Isai. . .'. MS. B.M. Add. 18835, f. 2v.

2. Ser. 32, P.L. 171:671A.

3. Illustrative text 3.

4. 'Judaei soli in cultu unius Dei in medio nationum habitabant, quae plurium deorum raptabuntur errore. Si ergo audissent et legissent tres personas in divinitate, insultassent Judaeis de numero deorum'. Ser. 31, P.L. 171:596B.

More generally the Old Testament provided the historical framework for the events related in the New. It demonstrated a working-out of the divine plan and set the new dispensation in its proper chronological context as a fulfilment of the old. Consequently, Old Testament history could be divided up into chronological periods which culminated in the advent of Christ. Comestor, for example, delineated such periods by Old Testament characters; from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, and so on to Christ¹. Lombard chose to define three periods each characterised by successively more apparent impositions of divine order; firstly the period before the imposition of the Mosaic law, secondly the period of rule under that law, finally its fulfilment and abrogation and the descent of grace².

Thus the Incarnation was merely the final step in the progressive revelation of God to man. Old Testament history demonstrated that God had been active on earth since its creation and Lombard in particular was anxious to dispel the view that it was only at the Incarnation that God began to inhabit it³. Consequently it was important to show that the Old and New Testaments related a continuous and harmonious account of God's relation with man since the creation of the world.

1. Ser. 24, P.L. 198:1764A.

2. Ser. 7, P.L. 171:398A.

3. 'Non igitur venit in mundum mutando locum quia in mundo erat, sed induendo carnem ut congruenter carnalibus appareret sine sui mutatione'. Ser. 2, P.L. 171:378A.

Important as study of the literal sense and of biblical history was in twelfth century exegesis it played only a subsidiary role in the scholastic sermon. Explanation of the literal sense or the biblical context of the text served in the main, as did linguistic analysis, only as preface to the symbolic interpretation that contained the bulk of the didactic material. The literal sense was, to borrow a favourite contemporary metaphor, only the outer shell that encrusted the inner kernel of more profound meaning. In some cases indeed the literal sense of the text seemed to be quite inappropriate for the liturgical occasion on which the sermon was delivered. For Lent, for example, Comestor chose a traditional text, 'Rejoice Jerusalem' (Is.66:10), and began by remarking:

Why this threefold exhortation to rejoice ?
It certainly seems quite inappropriate, relevant
neither to the time of year nor to appropriate
behaviour.¹

The true relevance of the text lay in its symbolic not its literal meaning.

To some scholars, indeed, the literal sense appeared to be either useless for exegetical purposes or, worse still, a positive hindrance. Hilduin, reflecting a still current notion that the literal sense was appropriate only for beginners or the simple-minded, was extremely dismissive of the literal meaning of the text 'Behold the fire and the

1. 'Quid sibi vult haec triplex exhortatio ad gaudendum ? Sane minus congrua videtur esse; non respondet tempori, non consonat actioni'. Ser. 24, P.L. 198:1761C.

wood but where is the lamb for a burnt offering' (Gen. 22:7):

If, stutteringly, we should seek the infantile sense of these words we would find only the banal conversation of the boy, Issac, with his father, Abraham, about providing a burnt offering for the sacrifice.¹

The only important meaning of the passage was as a premonition of the Passion.

Comestor, in an outburst against such opinions, stigmatised two sorts of critics who denied the validity of the literal sense. On the one hand were those who considered the sort of hair-splitting detail it provided to be of no interest unless merely to serve as a training in the methods of the liberal arts². On the other hand were those whose entirely spurious symbolic interpretations contradicted the plain literal sense of the text³.

Strident as Comestor was in defence of the literal and historical sense, he, no less than other Paris masters, was

1. 'Porro si in verbis istis puerilem sensuum balbuciendo quaeramus, puerum Isaac, patre suo, Abrahae, de providenda victima holocausti pueriliter loquentem advertimus'. Ser. 'Ecce Ignis. . .' MS. Maz. 774, f. 168a.

2. 'Sunt alii qui linguas suas magnificant, dicentes sacram Scripturam non esse scientiam, nec esse literaturam. Non enim scientiam dicunt esse nisi quibusdam verborum munitiis, quasi capillos capitis perquerendo, sciamus disserere probando vel improbando, vel philosophicis rationibus rerum cognoscere causas, vel sub iudice rhetoricis declamationibus perorare. Quae enim, inquiunt, scientia est scire quod Abraham duos filios habuit; quod Noe cum septem animabus in arca salvus fuit? et caetera in hanc modum: confabulantium peritia haec est non literatura'. Ser. 22, P.L. 198:1755B.

3. 'Sunt alii qui destruunt: hi sunt qui evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis; qui imagines cordis sui in paginis sacrae Scripturae depingunt, qui literam renitentem suis adinventionibus accomodant, et intellectum Scripturae usque ad sanguinem emungunt'. Ibid., c. 1755D.

clear that the most profound meanings of the bible were to be discovered in symbolic readings of the text. Paris preachers were, of course steeped in the patristic traditions of the four senses of scripture as these were organised and applied by twelfth century exegetes. Comestor defined these four senses and gave examples of each in the prologue of his Historia Scholastica. The first of these senses was the literal. The second was allegory, 'by which one event signifies another' and which described the Church on earth. Thirdly came tropology, the moral and exhortatory sense, 'by which a past event indicates to us how we should behave'. Finally anagogy described the Church of the blessed in heaven and the divine Trinity¹. Although the theory seems reasonably clear, in practice the four senses are often difficult to distinguish. The tropological and allegorical senses were often fused into a single interpretation and frequently the anagogical was omitted entirely. The only clear and consistent division respected was that between the literal and all symbolic interpretations of the text².

Allegory was the mode of symbolic interpretation that revealed in the biblical text the doctrines of the faith.

1. 'Allegoria. . . per factum aliud factum figurat. Tropologia. . . per id quod factum est quid a nobis sit faciendum insinuat. . . Tropologia est sermo conversivus, pertinens ad mores animi; et magis movet quam allegoria, quae pertinet ad Ecclesiam militantem, anagoge ad triumphantem et ad Domini Trinitatem'. P.L. 198:1054-5.
 2. Though even here there was some confusion as to the status of the primary meaning when the text itself was clearly metaphorical. See P.C. Spicq, Esquisse d'une Histoire de l'Exégèse Latine au Moyen-Age (Paris, 1944) p. 98.

As such it was central to the Christian's understanding of the bible and of the Old Testament in particular. Pullen's sermon 'Quatuor reges. . .' provides a convenient example of the way allegory worked and of its relation to the literal sense. Pullen considered the line 'Abram led out 318 servants'.¹ Numbers no less than words were subject to symbolic interpretation. The allegorical interpretation was suggested by an etymology. 300, said Pullen, is represented by the hebrew letter tav which means a cross². Consequently the number 300 may be regarded as a symbol for the passion of Christ. The allegory may be pursued further. The triple element of 300 represents the three principal stages of Christ's existence on earth; birth, passion and resurrection. Pullen brought to his interpretation of 100 the analogy of the abacus. Just as when using an abacus one is obliged to change columns at 100 so Christ, at his ascension, moved from the left to the right of God, from the world to the Father. Thus Pullen applied linguistic and arithmetical knowledge to a rather unpromising literal text and transformed it into a symbol that served to instruct his audience in a fundamental doctrine of the faith, namely that not only was Christ born, crucified and resurrected but that he ascended to heaven thereafter. The symbol was further enriched by

1. P. 265, ll. 99-112.

2. Usually the letter tav stands for 400 not 300. However in some mystical traditions the order of letters in the alphabet is adjusted and one result is that tav comes to represent 300. Prevostin followed the same tradition, Ser. 'Filii tui sicut novellae. . .' MS. Arsenal 543, f. 203b.

Pullen's interpretation of the 18 element of 318 and of the fact that the number in its entirety was quoted three times.

Just as the history of the Old Testament provided an entirely consistent historical context for the events of the New so allegory of the Old Testament revealed premonitions and prefigurations of what was to come and reinforced the essential harmony between the two. They were not merely consistent. The Old was a forewarning, couched in a symbolic language, of a new dispensation that would eventually replace it.

Allegory of characters and events of the Old Testament as prefigurations of the New is pervasive throughout the sermons. It is particularly apparent in Advent preaching when the traditional prophecies of Isaiah were understood to be speaking of Christ,¹ though such allegorical interpretation was not confined to Old Testament texts. Comestor, for example, set out to account for the movement of the waters in the pool at Jerusalem (Jo. 5:2ff.)². His initial reaction was to seek natural explanations. In the absence of any chronological precision in the historical accounts available to him he supposed that it must have taken place just before, and as a premonition of, the advent of Christ. Traditional christian exegesis provided alternative theories to explain the necessity for the premonition and Comestor selected that which appeared to him to be the most likely. He was, in effect, obliged to concede that the literal meaning

1. e.g. Lombard Ser. 1, P.L. 171:371A, Alan of Lille, Ser. 'Erunt signa. . .' MS. B.N. Nov. Acq. 335, ff. 81v-83v.
 2. Ser. 15, P.L. 198:1721ff.

of the text was metaphorical. The allegorical interpretation followed. He understood the pool to be an image of the Virgin and the episode an account of her purification.

In a sermon for the feast of John the Baptist Alan of Lille made a typically scholastic attempt to classify the various categories of signs and prefigurations. He cited first of all inanimate phenomena such as the manna that fed the Israelites in the desert. Secondly he distinguished verbal prophecies in which the prophet understood the significance of what he was saying (Isaiah) from those in which he did not (Balaam's ass). Finally he distinguished between pagan philosophers, on the one hand, who were led by natural reason to prophecy, from those such as John the Baptist (the subject of the sermon) who did so uniquely for love of God¹.

As we shall see, doctrinal teaching, and therefore allegorical exegesis, remained an important element of the scholastic sermon throughout the twelfth century. However, preachers were particularly concerned, and became so increasingly as the century progressed, with moral instruction. Tropological exegesis of the bible, therefore, gradually assumed a dominant role in the sermon, all the more so since in the schools systematic theology was gradually replacing biblical allegory as the vehicle for doctrinal instruction².

Tropology of the Old Testament in particular proved a

1. Ser. 'Vox clamantis. . .' MS. B.N. Nov. Acq. 335, f. 113v.
 2. Smalley, op.cit., p. 244.

rich source for moral instruction. Allegorical interpretation tended to concentrate on the nature of God and the doctrines associated with his assumption of human form on earth. In contrast, the subject of tropology was man. Allegorical symbols of Christ presented him as the redeemer of mankind. Tropologically he served as a moral example for man. Tropology of the innumerable battles of the Old Testament provided images of the passions contending for man's soul and thus functioned as a form of surrogate psychology.

Pullen's sermon 'Quatuor reges. . .' is dominated by this mode of symbolism. Generally the biblical narrative that served as the subject of the sermon was interpreted as an account of the processes of moral decay and regeneration. In particular the capture of Lot by the kings and his subsequent release by Abraham was interpreted as the capture of the soul by the physical senses until its release by faith. The biblical account told Pullen that Abraham took with him 318 followers and divided them into two forces. We saw that allegorically the number 318 was interpreted as a symbol representing four principal stages of Christ's life. Tropologically Pullen identified the two halves of the force that accompanied Abraham as the two necessary companions to faith (Abraham), hope and love¹. He was then able to instruct his audience to direct their hopes and love without excess at appropriate and worthy objects.

The substance of the doctrine revealed by symbolic interpretations of this nature will be discussed in a subsequent

1. Illustrative text 1, p. 268, ll. 157-8.

chapter. To some extent there was a shift in emphasis as the century progressed from allegory to tropology but the premises and techniques of symbolism inevitably remained the basis of any essentially exegetical activity such as preaching throughout the period.

(ii) 'Distinction'

Symbolism was a means of revealing the full significance of the biblical text. A given biblical passage need not necessarily be interpreted at all four levels. Some passages could only be understood allegorically or tropologically. The same word might have a different meaning in different parts of the bible. This could be of help in understanding obscurities. Guibert of Nogent, for example, advised his preachers to tackle difficult passages by comparing the sense of words used there with the appearance of the same words elsewhere in the bible¹. In this way the use of the word in different contexts could be compared and the most appropriate adopted. Alternatively the various possibilities could simply be expounded in turn in order to reveal the richness of the word. This was the principle behind the biblical 'distinction' (distinctio). An example from a sermon by Alan of Lille will help to clarify the technique. The sermon was preached on the text 'Blessed is the man who endures temptation' (James. 1:12). Alan commented:

There are three forms of temptation: human temptation, which the weakness of the flesh produces; diabolic temptation, which comes

1. Liber Quo Ordine Sermo Fieri Debeat, P.L. 156:29B.

from the provocations of the devil; divine temptation, which descends from the authority of God. Of the first it is said: "No temptation has overtaken you that is not common to man". Of the second it is said: "And lead us not into temptation". Of the third is told: "And God tempted Abraham".¹

By the time Alan came to preach his sermons 'distinction' of this nature was established as the dominant expository technique employed by scholastic preachers. Comestor's sermons mark an important stage in its development. In the sermons of his master, Peter Lombard, the use of 'distinction' was limited. In those of Pullen it was virtually non-existent. Only in Comestor's preaching did the practice of 'distinction' become overwhelming. Comestor not only identified three meanings of the word in question but further qualified the meanings with an often very lengthy series of parallel adjectives or predicates. The whole was couched in a rhythmic and rhyming language which lends to the scholastic sermon generally its particular rhetorical quality.

One example at least must be quoted in full to give a flavour of what is the dominant device of Comestor's preaching. In the sermon on the text 'I will lift up mine eyes to the hills' (Ps. 120:1) he remarked that many mountains were mentioned in the bible but that he would discuss four only which by their position at the four points of the compass surround the Church on earth. The 'distinction' then

1. 'Est autem triplex temptatio: temptatio humana, quam carnis infirmitas parit; diabolica, que ex diaboli suggestionem provenit; divina, que ex Dei auctoritate descendit. De prima dicitur: "Non apprehendat vos temptatio, nisi humana". De secunda dicitur: "Et ne nos inducas in temptationem". De tertia adiungitur: "Temptavit Deus Abraham". Ser. 'Beatus vir. . .' ed. d'Alverny, Alain de Lille, p. 263.

followed:

Sit itaque mons Gelboae ab aquilone,
mons Samariae ab occidente,
mons Armeniae ab austro,
mons Israel ab oriente.

Mons Gelboae sunt aeriae potestates,
mons Samariae, hypocritae tristes;
mons Armeniae, veri pastores;
mons Israel, sancti intercessores.

Primus est mundus frigidus;
secundus, tepidus;
tertius, calidus;
quartus, lucidus.

Primus est lupus;
secundus, mercenarius;
tertius, pastor bonus;
quartus, iudex propitius.

Primus enim rapit, ut mactet;
secundus ducit, ut comedat;
tertius satagit, ut custodiat;
quartus intercedit, ut ad se trahat.

Primus igitur est fugiendus;
secundus, tolerandus;
tertius, audiendus;
quartus implorandus.

Fugiendus est [primus] quia dicit Zacharias:
"O, o fugite de terra aquilonis, dicit Dominus"
(Zach. 2:6).
[Secundus] tolerandus est quia dicit Veritas:
"Quae dicunt, facite; et quae faciunt, nolite facere"
(Math. 23:3).
[Tertius] audiendus, quia Moyses dicit:
"Interroga patres tuos, et dicent tibi; majores tuos,
et annuntiabunt tibi" (Deut. 32:7).
Implorandus [quartus] quia dicit propheta:
"Laudate Deum in sanctis eius" (Ps. 150:1).¹

In contrast Peter Lombard was much more restrained in his use of 'distinction'. Often he only introduced each element of it when he was ready to discuss it in full. Once introduced the 'distinction' was presented by Lombard as just

1. Ser. 39, P.L. 171:696D-697A.

another stage of the argument without the repetitive formulas that characterise Comestor's approach and those of subsequent preachers. Lombard, for example, 'distinguished' three constituent elements of the 'concupiscence of the flesh' (1 Jo. 2:16):

Concupiscentia carnis consistit in gulositate, in ebrietate et in luxuria.
 Per gulositatem cecidit primus homo, qui per gulam tentatus et superatus.
 Per ebrietatem cecidit Loth.
 Per luxuriam Salomon, ille magnus, plena scientia, est praecipitatus et amore mulierum infatuatus.¹

Here the device of parallel predicates is missing and the rhythm and rhyme is consequently irregular. The principle is recognisably the same, but the technique was still unformed.

It is important to emphasise that this was not intended specifically to distinguish the different symbolic senses of a word. On occasions the various interpretations identified did indeed correspond to the four symbolic senses. Comestor, for example, chose to identify four ways in which the name Jerusalem was used throughout the bible. It might stand for, he suggested, the historical city in Palestine, the Church on earth, the human soul or the Church of the blessed in heaven². These four interpretations clearly correspond to the literal, allegorical, tropological and anagogical senses respectively. This 'distinction' of Jerusalem was, however, an exception and a commonplace. It was used, for example, by Guibert of Nogent in his Liber Quo Ordine Sermo

1. Ser. 31, ed. B. Hauréau, Notices et Extraits de Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1890-3), iii. 45.
 2. Ser. 38, P.L. 171:739Cff.

Fieri Debeat to illustrate the theory of biblical symbolism¹.

The different interpretations of a word that the preacher 'distinguished' might indeed correspond to the symbolic senses, but they need not necessarily do so, and most in fact did not. There was no necessary connexion between the technique of 'distinction' and the theory of biblical symbolism. The three elements of fleshly concupiscence identified by Peter Lombard, for example, were all moral vices. Most 'distinction' was used in these sermons in this manner to identify different interpretations of a word within a single symbolic level and so to refine the concept that lay behind it. Alan of Lille's 'distinction' of temptation was similarly intended to explicate the text and thus define the concept and instruct his audience, without recourse to symbolic interpretation.

Alan of Lille and Peter Lombard were both dealing, in these cases, with abstractions contained in their texts. There was thus no need for symbolism. In the case of concrete nouns the nature of the exegesis as a two stage process, symbolism followed by 'distinction', becomes more apparent. Comestor, for example, chose as a text for Lent 'Throw stones from the streets'. Tropologically he interpreted the stones as sins. He then 'distinguished' seven such sins followed by their corresponding vices and instructed his audience to rid themselves of them by lenten penance².

'Distinction' thus functioned as a means of explaining

1. P.L. 156:26A.

2. Ser. 21, P.L. 198:1752C.

to an audience doctrinal or moral concepts that had been made available by allegory or tropology of a biblical text. As such it was related in a particular way to the mode of argument that characterised the whole scholastic movement.

'Distinction' was a crucial academic tool in the process of the formulation of doctrine that lay at the heart of the twelfth century scholastic endeavour. 'Distinction' of words produced definition and refinement of the concepts that lay behind them. It permitted the reconciliation of apparently contradictory opinions on points of exegesis and doctrine and so facilitated the labour of selection, synthesis and definition in which twelfth century scholars were engaged. The use of 'distinction' in preaching may be seen, therefore, as a reflection of the scholastic mentality of the age. 'Distinction' constituted the unit of scholastic argument in the sermon no less than in the theological sententiae.

Nevertheless the Paris master used a form of 'distinction' in his sermon that was not quite the same as that he employed in his sententiae. In the latter the 'distinction' was almost entirely divorced from its exegetical context. The process of definition and classification was set in motion by the imposition of external disciplines, be they logical, grammatical or doctrinal. Thus, for example, in a sermon on the subject of the Trinity Hilduin identified six trinities¹. Of these the first was the divine Trinity and the second the three groups, each themselves consisting of three orders,

1. Ser. 'Vias tuas. . .' MS. Cambridge Univ. Ii-I-24, pp. 260a-261b.

that formed the celestial hierarchy. Here, clearly, Hilduin took his definitions not from a biblical context but from ps.-Denys. Similarly, if Comestor chose to define seven vices it was simply in order to present methodically and in a manner relevant to his text the teaching of current moral theology.

Since by the end of the century all theology derived ultimately from biblical exegesis and since, in consequence, biblical support to prove the validity of definitions identified rapidly became indispensable the area of overlap between the two principles of 'distinction' was great. In the thirteenth century when preachers had available to them collections of 'distinctions', compiled to help them in the construction of their sermons, they could find in these collections 'distinctions' of both biblical words and religious concepts.

Nevertheless the 'distinction' did not carry in the sermon the intellectual responsibility that it exercised in the sententiae. It was more of an expository device than a tool of serious intellectual discovery. Taken in isolation Alan of Lille's discussion of temptation would not have been out of place in a comprehensive and systematic work of moral theology. In the sermon, however, it is firmly attached to the biblical text, together with similar 'distinctions' of other words entirely unrelated to it if it is not for the fact that they too appear in that text. Whereas the sermon and the principle of 'distinction' that the preacher used remained a form, albeit a particular form, of biblical

exegesis, theology and the theological 'distinction' cut itself off from its exegetical origins and evolved into an essentially independent discipline.

In addition to this intellectual motivation behind the predominance of 'distinction' in the scholastic sermon there were also sound practical advantages to the technique. As R. Cruel pointed out a long time ago 'distinction' was used by Bernard in his sermons de diversis and in his somewhat epigrammatic sententiae¹. Leclercq has suggested that some of these are either annotations of Bernard's finished sermons or preliminary plans to be worked up into such finished pieces². This suggests one obvious use of the 'distinction'. Reduced to its bare essentials it could provide a concise schema of the sermon, or part of the sermon, from which the preacher could construct or reconstruct his material. In the thirteenth century such schemas, consisting only of the elements of the 'distinction' and appropriate supporting biblical quotations, were carried around in small pocket books by the friars and used as the basis of their preaching³. The twelfth century had not quite reached this point. I have found only one manuscript, typically small, that treats Comestor's sermons in this way⁴. Nor are Bernard's sermons

1. R. Cruel, Geschichte der Deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter (Detmold, 1879), p. 272.

2. J. Leclercq, 'L'art de la Composition dans les Sermons de S. Bernard', Recueil d'Etudes sur Saint Bernard et ses Ecrits (Rome, 1969), iii. 157-8.

3. d'Avray, 'The Transformation of the Medieval Sermon', p. 25.

4. MS. B.N. 13586, pp. 325-7.

de diversis and sententiae quite the schemas of the thirteenth century.

Nevertheless even in the twelfth century these 'distinctions' could be used to organise material efficiently and concisely and to make it available to preachers to be used in the context they chose. As such they formed part of the great mass of exegetical and doctrinal common stock from which scholars were able to borrow and which must have functioned, in the days before organised preaching aids, as the raw material from which the preacher fashioned his sermons. Thus, for example, 'distinctions' of the words 'Go forth', 'Solomon' and 'crown' together with subdivisions of these 'distinctions' appear in identical formulations in sermons on the text 'Go forth O daughters of Sion and behold King Solomon with the crown with which his mother crowned him' (Cant. 3:11) by Robert Pullen, Peter Lombard, Peter Comestor and in the third book of miscellaneous writings attributed to Hugh of St. Victor¹.

The utility of 'distinction' was further enhanced by its characteristic quality of rhyme which may well have served a mnemonic as well as a rhetorical purpose. Elements

1. Robert Pullen, ser. 11, ed. S. Bernardi Opera, vi.-2. 201-7; Lombard ser. 24, P.L. 171:352-363; Comestor, ser. 25, P.L. 198:1772-5; Hugh, Miscellanea, iii. 49, P.L. 177:667-8. For attribution of the Pullen sermon and its relation to a sermon by Bernard on the same text see above, pp. 27-28.

of a 'distinction' could be defined by different degrees of an adjective, 'miseriae, miseriores, miserrimae'¹, 'magnus, majus, maximus'² or of a name, 'Augustus, Augustinus, Augustinianus'³. Such easily retainable formulae served to remind the preacher of the principal outlines of his material.

Contemporaries were perfectly aware of the growing importance of 'distinction'. Peter of Holy Trinity, Aldgate was clearly very excited by the possibilities of the technique when he first heard it used in a sermon delivered by Gilbert Foliot in London in the 1170s or 80s⁴. He felt sufficiently inspired to start compiling a collection of such 'distinctions'. The work, the Pantheologus, was divided into four books, each of which treated different sections of the bible. The various possible meanings of biblical words were explained and supported with authorities. The idea was to save the preacher the long task of researching the exegesis and authorities himself and to provide him with material from which he could put together ready-made sermons rather than having to compose them himself from scratch⁵.

1. Alan of Lille, ser. 'Homo natus de muliere. . .' MS. B.N. 14859, f. 248vb.

2. Comestor, ser. 2, P.L. 171:761C.

3. Comestor, ser. 51, MS. B.N. 14590, f. 27va.

4. R.W. Hunt, 'English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century', T.R.H.S., 19 (1936), 53.

5. '... ut non iam oporteat sermones facientem circa dicendorum inventionem laborare, sed potius ex iam inventis et ante oculos positis et expositis non tam sermonem facere quam iam factum formare', ed. ibid., p. 40, ll. 72-6.

The Pantheologus was thus explicitly designed to assist preachers. Other scholars produced similar collections of 'distinctions', though not always for such precisely defined purposes. The last decades of the century saw the compilation of a spate of such distinctiones. They were often arranged alphabetically by word to be 'distinguished' and sometimes presented in schematic form. For each entry different possible meanings of the word were defined and each was supported by scripture.

From the very beginning such collections reflected the dual nature of the 'distinction' itself. They were produced in both specifically exegetical and in more general theological contexts. Peter of Poitiers' and Prevostin's collections were designed as a new form of exegesis of the Psalter. Those of Alan of Lille and Peter the Chanter were not restricted in this way. Lacombe suggested that Prevostin's Summa Super Psalterium was itself intended to be preached¹ and it is possible that the schematic version of Peter of Poitiers' Distinctiones Super Psalterium was specifically intended to facilitate quick reference by preachers². Not surprisingly the same 'distinctions' appear in Alan's distinctiones collection and in his sermons³. Already the close connexion between distinctiones and the use of 'distinction' in sermons is apparent. From the intellectual

1. Op.cit., p. 120.

2. Moore, Peter of Poitiers, p. 83.

3. R. and M. Rouse, Manipulus Florum, p. 69.

technique of distinguishing complementary senses of a given concept in order to reconcile apparent contradictions in a theological or exegetical context there emerged a scholastic manual that supplied a complete set of meanings for each item in a variously organised word list. Distinctiones were in fact the first genre of preaching aid to appear and were certainly the most important in use in the twelfth century.

As the thirteenth century progressed distinctiones became larger and more complex mirroring the parallel development of the use of 'distinctions' in sermons themselves. By the end of the century so sophisticated were they and so complete the habit of building a sermon out of an initial 'distinction' that individual entries appear virtually as self-contained sermons with all the paraphernalia of subdivision, rhyme and supporting authority¹.

One final point remains to be clarified. Distinctiones collections, like the 'distinction' itself, have been mistakenly regarded as specifically associated with the theory of biblical symbolism. Moore, for example, in his remarks on Peter of Poitiers' Distinctiones Super Psalterium accepted Lacombe's opinion on Prevostin's similar Summa Super Psalterium that essentially these works represent a new method of exegesis in which 'distinction' of different symbolic senses replaced patristic quotation². In fact, however, these

1. R.H. and M.A. Rouse, 'Biblical Distinctiones in the Thirteenth Century', A.H.D.L.M.A., 41 (1974), 27-37.

2. Moore, op.cit., pp. 78-84.

collections compiled by Prevostin and Peter of Poitiers were no more restricted to 'distinction' of different symbolic senses than were those employed in the sermons¹. The same is true of the collections produced in the thirteenth century specifically as aids for preachers². Clearly sermon and collection influenced each other. As preachers incorporated 'distinctions' into their sermons compilations of such material became essential. Once available it became easier to find appropriate 'distinctions' for a sermon and so they were more widely used. In both cases 'distinction' served to identify and bring together the various meanings, symbolic or otherwise, of the text and to define and refine the concepts that lay behind it.

(iii) Proof and Illustration

The scholastic sermon in the twelfth century was a form of academic essay. It was designed to lay before its audiences as efficiently and in as organised a manner as possible doctrinal and religious teachings as they had been developed in the schools. It was primarily an instrument of instruction not exhortation. Masters preached in the main to their students and they inevitably borrowed the scholastic methods and procedures in which both were trained. They preached in order to present religious truths intellectually to their audiences rather than to overwhelm them emotionally

1. At random, the 'distinction' of 'amicus' in Peter of Poitiers' collection: (i) 'fictus', (ii) 'momentanus', (iii) 'verus'. MS. Laud Misc. 499, f. 20v.

2. R. and M. Rouse, 'Biblical Distinctiones', p. 28.

with them.

Nevertheless, the masters were fully aware of the additional force that emotive and rhetorical language could bring to the sermon. A great deal of theoretical and practical ingenuity was devoted to exploiting the inherent musicality of language. As has already been pointed out the effect of the 'distinction' derived as much from the rhythm and rhyme in which it was couched as from its intellectual qualities as such. In general, rhetorical 'colour', rhythm, rhyme and reiteration added momentum to the sermon and impact to its message. These features are particularly apparent in Alan of Lille's preaching, not surprisingly perhaps given his poetic background. In the sermons the texture of the language itself has an almost mesmeric quality of its own:

Pro te Christus fit caro, tu contra illum es carnalis;
 pro te humiliatus, tu contra illum superbis;
 pro te deprehensus, tu contra illum calcaneum erigis;
 pro te natus, tu moreris in peccato;
 pro te passus, tu delectaris in vitio;
 pro te crucifixus, tu ipsum crucifigis iniuriis.¹

Yet, at the same time preachers were wary of exploiting language in this way. Alan demonstrates their equivocation well. Despite passages such as that quoted above he warned prospective preachers against 'the melodies of rhythms and the sounds of metre that tend rather to caress the ear than

1. Ser. 'Verbum caro. . .' MS. B.N. 3818, f. 10.

to instruct the soul'¹. He distrusted excessive emotional displays by the audience². Emotional capitulation might be impressive but it tended to be shortlived. Intellectual conviction was what the sermon sought. Language could be an effective carrier of argument but not a substitute for it.

Thus preachers, and indeed schoolsmen generally, were faced with the problem of how to prove the validity of an argument or of a symbolic interpretation and so convince their audiences. The various techniques at their disposal for the purpose are conveniently and repeatedly illustrated in a sermon by Peter of Roissy. Peter was a disciple of Fulk of Neuilly. He was apparently associated at the end of the century with the popular preaching movement that Fulk generated until, much to Jacques de Vitry's disgust, he left to become chancellor of Chartres³. Five sermons are attributed to him in a St. Victor manuscript though at least one of these was not in fact his⁴. One of Peter's sermons was

1. '... rhythmorum melodias et consonantias metrorum quae potius fiunt ad aures demulcendas quam ad animum instruendum'. De Arte Praedicandi, P.L. 210:112B.

2. Ibid., c. 114C.

3. V.L. Kennedy, 'The Handbook of Master Peter of Chartres', Medieval Studies, 5 (1943), pp. 1-4. Historia Occidentalis (ed. J. Hinnebusch, Fribourg, 1972, pp. 100-101). Peter was chancellor by 1208. According to Rigord he joined Fulk in 1198 but had already defected by 1207, Gesta Philippi Augusti (ed. H. Delaborde, Paris, 1882, i. 139-40).

4. MS. B.N. 14589, ff. 242vb, 243va, 284a and 285vb. See Schneyer, Repertorium, iv. 769. The sermon 'Ascendam in palmam. . .' (f. 230a) is by Alan of Lille.

delivered on the text 'Upon your walls, O Jerusalem, I have set watchmen' (Is. 62:6) and consists of a systematic exposition of twelve articles of the faith. To establish and illustrate each of these Peter had recourse to three different forms of argument; authority, reason and exempla. Thus in the case of the first of these articles, the Trinity, he began with a straightforward definition of the doctrine as formulated by Athanasius. Having thus appealed to his audience's respect for patristic teaching he went on to direct himself to their independent intellects in a form of argument that is essentially the simile. The definition of the Trinity as three persons in one substance was shown to be inherently feasible since it had analogies in natural phenomena and in the mechanism of language. Finally Peter illustrated the doctrine of the Trinity with the well-known biblical story of the three angels who came to visit Abraham¹.

1. 'In primo igitur articulo primus lapis in fundamento ponitur cum Deus, trinus et unus ab eterno, populo praedicatur et auctoritatibus simpliciter confirmatur secundum istud Athanasii: "Alius est Pater, alius Filius, alius Spiritus sanctus et tamen non tres filii. Una est divinitas equalis gloria, coeterna maiestas, licet enim sint tres personae suis proprietatibus adinvicem distinctae et separatae, una tamen earum personarum est essentia; una bonitas una sapientia una omnipotentia".

Et hoc non solum auctoritate sed etiam rationibus utcumque quandoque ostendi potest, ut ait Augustinus, ut sicut in sole tria esse videntur, (f. 284va) scilicet radius, splendor, calor et tamen non est nisi unus sol; et in eadem aqua nisi quandoque tria reperiuntur, fons, rivulus et stagnum et tamen eadem est aqua fontis rivuli et stagni; et in uno nomine in quo tres voces sunt ut sanctus, sancta, sanctum et tamen hae tres voces non sunt nisi unum et idem nomen; et in uno verbo in quo tres sunt personae et tamen in eis unum et idem semper remanet verbum; et in uno ligno ubi triplex invenietur dimensio; et in uno et eodem panno in quo triplex ostenditur plica; et in qualibet anima quae, quamvis sit simplex, tres vires reperiuntur;

The method of proof most commonly used by preachers was the quotation of recognised authority, of which that of the bible was the most convincing. Since all discussion of the faith, whether moral or doctrinal, depended in the last resort on argument from and exegesis of the bible, it could hardly be otherwise. The growth of scholarly reference to the bible as authority may be seen in the development of the 'distinction'. Since in principle the 'distinction' brought together the various meanings of a word as it was used throughout the bible the authenticity of any interpretation identified could be proved by quotation of the relevant verse in which the word appeared in that context. In the mid twelfth century such recourse to biblical authority was inconsistent. Lombard, for example, in his identification of the three vices that constitute fleshly concupiscence, cited a biblical character in each case as illustration of the vice rather than authority to prove his initial 'distinction'¹. Comestor, too, left his initial identification of the four biblical mountains unsupported. Instead, he

1 (contd.) 'sic et in una eademque substantia tres sunt personae, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus cum tamen earum una et eadem sit divina essentia unde non sunt tres dii sed unus est Deus et non tres domini sed unus est Dominus.

Hoc ipsum non solum auctoritatibus probatur et rationibus ostenditur sed exemplis confirmatur ut in Abraham qui omnibus est exemplum fidei qui tres vidit, ut legitur in Genesi, et unum adoravit. Per illos tres quos vidit trinitas personarum, per unum quem adoravit unitas trini datur intelligi'. Ser. 'Super muros tuos. . .' MS. B.N. 14589, f. 284b.

1. Above, p. 85.

adduced biblical authority to support one of the subsequent strings of predicates¹. By the end of the century quotation of the biblical verses from which the various meanings of a word had been drawn was established as the rule. Alan, for example, immediately followed his 'distinction' of three classes of temptation with supporting biblical authorities. In the thirteenth century such support at every stage of the 'distinction' became indispensable. Without it symbolism might appear arbitrary or definition specious. The bible became less the subject of the sermon than the source of its arguments, and supplied the scholar's footnotes. Indeed it has been suggested that quite apart from providing 'distinctions' with which to construct the sermon, distinctiones may have been used, in the early thirteenth century, simply as an alphabetical reference of biblical authorities for use to support the arguments and symbolism of the sermon².

Similarly, the status of non-biblical authority was also effected by scholastic method. The concept of inspired auctoritas was gradually superseded by the more theological notion of opinion, selected, like biblical quotation, to support reasoned argument and extended beyond the fathers to classical authors and to contemporary masters³.

1. Above, p. 84.

2. R. and M. Rouse, Manipulus Florum, p. 75.

3. Spicq, Exégèse Latine, p. 77.

Consequently, as treatment of biblical authority became more scholarly, so treatment of patristic authority became more critical. There was, after all, an absolute difference between the bible, which was the scholar's 'primary material', and the authority of the fathers, which, though still generally acknowledged to be inspired and sustained by the enormous weight of tradition, was nevertheless commentary on that material. Moreover Abelard had shown only too clearly that the opinions of different fathers could appear to contradict each other. A more critical selective attitude to these opinions was required and twelfth century exegetes generally turned to the fathers no longer to appropriate verbatim their commentaries but rather in search of support and authority for their own arguments and interpretations¹.

Patristic authority was used in these sermons, therefore, rather as the bible and since the bible was considerably more authoritative than the fathers these latter were used far less in preaching than was scripture. There is even, occasionally, a feeling that some preachers were trying to free themselves from patristic influence. At times Comestor seems to have felt inhibited by the weight of traditional patristic exegesis. In a sermon preached to the monks of St. Germain on the text 'When you sit at the meal of the rich' (Prov. 23:1) he felt obliged, in the first instance,

1. ibid., p. 72. See Prevostin's approach to contradictory patristic opinions, on a point of interpretation, above p. 69.

to follow the patristic allegory of the meal as the eucharist¹. Only when he had done so did he feel free 'with no disrespect to patristic authority' to offer his own interpretations, collected in a 'distinction' from different uses of the word throughout the bible, and to treat each methodically one after the other².

So, too, as classical learning and methodology was incorporated into scholastic disciplines, the opinions of classical authors acquired a sort of 'authority' also. Of all the preachers, it was Alan of Lille who quoted and referred to pagan authority most frequently. He even went so far as to compose sermons on texts taken from classical authors³. Comestor, in a revealing moment, implied that, for some, the authority of classical authors was greater than that of the bible, for if Daniel's experiences did not convince his audience that man was created upright in order to direct himself to God then perhaps Ovid's dictum would⁴.

The validity of an argument or a symbol might also be asserted by its own internal logic without reference to

1. 'Sed quid mensa hic significetur sancti doctores nobis exponunt, quorum expositionem mutare non possumus'. Ser. 96, P.L. 171:651B.

2. 'Sed tamen, fratres, quamvis locus iste sic exponatur, sine huius expositionis praeiudicio, non derogantes sanctorum auctoritatibus aliter praesumus exponere'. *ibid.*, c. 652C.

3. e.g. 'Facilius descensus Averni. . .' (Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi. 126), 'Regia solis erat sublimibus alta columpnis. . .' (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ii. 1).

4. 'Daniel ad maiestatem visionis prostratus audivit ab angelo: "Sta supra pedes tuos", quod si non creditis prophetae, credite poetae: "Os homini sublime dedit celumque videre iussit". Ser. 44, MS. B.N. 14937, f. 72v.

external authority. Generally, reasoning of this nature by the preacher took the form of the simile. In the sermons, indeed, the simile was used in two related and overlapping contexts. It was used as a technique of illustrative comparison as for example in Peter of Roissy's sermon. There the nature of the Trinity was compared to, and therefore asserted by, the threefold attributes of the one sun or three passages of water in one flow. Simile was also used, however, as an exegetical technique. A symbolic interpretation might be justified by comparing the physical properties of the object to the symbolised qualities of the referant.

One of the most explicit illustrations of the way in which simile could be used in this way to justify an allegorical image is provided by Alan of Lille. Alan took as his text for a sermon on the Resurrection a verse from the Song of Songs (7:8) 'I will climb the palm tree and lay hold of its branches'. The connexion between the text and the liturgical occasion of the sermon was made by interpreting the palm of the text as a symbol representing Christ's cross. Alan then adduced three different reasons to prove the validity of the interpretation:

These are the words of the bridegroom in Canticles, dearest brothers. We may assert three arguments to justify the interpretation of the palm as the cross of the Lord; an argument of substance, of circumstance and of effect.

By reason of substance because the gloss on Canticles says that the cross was made from palms.

By reason of circumstance because the qualities of the palm may be seen, allegorically, in the cross. The roots of the palm are vile, its outer skin is hard, it is strong, tall,

beautiful at its top, and its fruit is delicious. Similarly, the root of the cross was vile, because at first the ignominy of the suffering it caused made it repugnant. Its outer skin was hard, because of the pains it inflicted. Its strength was seen in the endurance of Christ and its height in the ultimate end. The beauty of its top signifies the Resurrection and its delicious fruit our redemption.

The palm is seen as the cross by reason of effect, because as the palm is the prize of victory so Christ triumphed through the crucifixion.¹

Here Alan drew no support from the bible or any other authority. The only recourse to it was the assumption on which the first argument was based, namely that the cross was made from palmwood, a fact that Alan discovered in a gloss on the text.

The remaining two arguments both worked by drawing close parallels between the object and its referant. Since the physical qualities of the palm and the experiences associated with the cross corresponded so closely the interpretation had

1. 'Ascendam in palmam et comprehendam fructus eius'. Verba sponsi in Canticis, fratres charissimi. Per palmam intelligimus crucem dominicam triplici ratione; ratione substantiae, ratione circonstantiae, ratione efficientiae. Ratione substantiae, quia legitur in glossa super Cantica amoris quod palma fuerit dominicae crucis materia. Ratione circonstantiae, quia proprietates quae inveniuntur in palma resultant mystice in cruce dominica. Palma horribilis est in radice, aspera in cortice, firma in robore, erecta proceritate, pulchra in culmine, dulcis in fructus suavitate. Sic crux dominica horribilis fuit in radice, quia primo detestabilis propter tormenti ignominiam; aspera in cortice, propter penam; firma in robore, propter Christi patientiam; erecta proceritate, ratione finis; pulchra in culmine, intuitu resurrectionis; dulcis in fructus, intuitu nostrae redemptionis. Figuratur etiam per palmam crux dominica ratione efficientiae, quia sicut palma est praemium victorum, sic Christus per crucem consecutus est triumphum'. Ser. 'Ascendam in palmam. . .' P.L. 210:223C.

to be valid. The whole point of a symbol was that to those trained in the methods of scholastic exegesis it should itself suggest or embody its own meaning. The aptness of the exegesis was thus its justification. Alan simply drew out, for the benefit of his audience, the parallels that appeared to him to be inherent in the symbol and without which the symbol itself would have had no force.

'Distinction' on the basis of physical qualities in this manner was a long established exegetical technique and was a common feature both of twelfth century preaching and of the distinctiones collections of the thirteenth century. It relied on an assumption that was given a theoretical basis in discussions of exegesis by such authors as Hugh of St. Victor. Hugh argued that not only the biblical word but the physical object that the word represented was to be understood in the text and that the object, as distinct from the word, could signify as many meanings as it had physical properties¹.

However, since it was the object rather than the literal word that was of interest, the principle could be applied beyond the biblical text to the physical world. Guibert of Nogent cited with approval the case of Gregory Nazianzus who apparently had the habit of interpreting symbolically every physical object he encountered. Guibert went on to remark that anybody in his own day who did the same and recorded the results would render preachers an invaluable service². Preachers had reference books which approximated

1. Spicq, op.cit., p. 98.

2. Liber Quo Ordine Sermo Fieri Debeat, P.L. 156:29D.

to the sort of thing Guibert might have had in mind in the bestiaries and lapidaries which interpreted symbolically the factual and legendary qualities of animate and inanimate nature for moral purposes. Such moralised material was still used as supporting authority in the twelfth century¹. Comestor made occasional use of the Physiologus, one of the best known of such collections. Guibert must have been aware of such material though it evidently did not satisfy him.

Towards the end of the century William de Montibus produced another sort of reference work which might have corresponded more closely to what Guibert had in mind. William had been a student and then master in Paris in the 1160s and 1170s. He subsequently became chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral and died in 1213. He was the author of several practical manuals written after his departure from Paris for the benefit of the local parochial clergy². One of these was his collection of similitudes known as the Similitudinarius. William's similitudes were no more taken from direct observation of nature than the fables of the bestiaries and lapidaries had been. His sources in fact were entirely literary ranging from Augustine's City of God to Alexander Nequam's sermons³.

1. R. and M. Rouse, 'Biblical Distinctiones', p. 28.

2. On William see H. Mackinnon, 'The Life and Works of William de Montibus' (Oxford Univ. D. Phil. thesis, 1959), and, very much more briefly, the essay by the same author in Essays in Medieval History Presented to B. Wilkinson, ed. T.A. Sandquist and M.R. Powicke (Univ. of Toronto, 1969), pp. 32-45.

3. Mackinnon, 'The Life and Works of William de Montibus', p. 225.

The work was one of several that William produced specifically to assist preachers in the writing of their sermons¹. It was, he explained in his prologue, alphabetically ordered to facilitate quick reference. The similitudes themselves were intended to illustrate statements that had first been demonstrated by reason and authority².

The Similitudinarius included both similes in the strict sense of the term and symbolic interpretations of the same nature as that made by Alan of the palm as the cross. William did not distinguish between the two. Both worked by making connexions between the physical properties of the object and the characteristics of the referant, between the sicut and the ita of the simile. If the connexions were not sufficiently apparent then the ratio circonstantiae remained unproven and the simile worthless. In some respects, indeed, the one was the obverse of the other, both products of a scholastic culture that moved with great facility and in both directions between object and referant. In the sermons themselves it is not always apparent whether the image was being interpreted as a symbol, itself enshrining a deeper religious truth, or rather being used as a simile for merely illustrative purposes. Whether, that is, the palm was actually understood to represent the cross, as in this case Alan clearly intended it to be, or whether the mundane qualities of the palm were merely compared to the sufferings occasioned by the cross in order to grasp the nature of these latter. Of course, an image might

1. He compiled, among other things, a distinctiones and a collection of proverbs as well as composing several cycles of sermons. See Mackinnon, op.cit., pp. 204ff., 234ff., and 246ff. respectively.

2. The prologue is printed by Mackinnon op.cit. pp. 221-2

serve both functions.' As we have seen, an accurately identified and properly expounded symbol could both reveal and illustrate the inner meaning it contained. In contrast a simile, no matter how well chosen, remained only an illustration of the doctrine under discussion.

Simile was used with ever greater enthusiasm and intensity by preachers towards the end of the century. It could be used to present the central but inevitably complex doctrines of the faith in a more palatable and comprehensible manner by substituting for technical academic definitions a current and imaginative imagery. Thus Alan, for example, borrowed the simile of light entering a room through a window without breaking the pane to explain the Virgin's conception of Christ. This simile appears in several other poetic and liturgical contexts and Alan used it in both his scholarly and his popular preaching¹. Similarly he presented the difficult notions central to Advent of the virgin conception and Incarnation of Christ in an extensive and sustained metaphor that took as its starting point the 'key of David', mentioned in the sermon thema, as a figure of Christ. It was

1. The simile is used in the Liber Sermonum ('Propter Syon. . .') MS. B.N. Nov. Acq. 335, ff. 87v-89) and in the scholarly preaching ('Veritas de terra. . .') MS. B.N. Nov. Acq. 547, f. 106). Elsewhere it appears, for example, in a versus from a manuscript of St. Martial, Limoges (MS. B.N. 1138, f. 35v) dated 1096-99:

Ut solis radius
Intrat innoxius
Fenestram vitreae,
Sic Dei filius
Immor subtilius
Aulem virgineam.

It also appears in Chretien de Troyes' Cliges and in the work of the Trouveres. See J. Chailley, 'L'Ecole Musicale de S. Martial de Limoges' (Paris, 1960), p. 328.

this key, moulded in the 'oven' of the Virgin's womb, that would reopen to man the door of paradise. The key itself was made of amber, an alloy, according to Alan, of gold and silver, and thus perfect image of the dual nature of Christ . . . and so on¹. Another Advent sermon explained the interrelation of the three persons of the Trinity by exploiting the imagery of a commonly observed phenomenon:

Just as three candles, be they similar or quite different, create, when fused together one light and the flame of each is neither larger nor smaller than that of another but rather the light though threefold is one and indivisible, so are there three persons in one deity and of which no one is larger or smaller than, or different from, another. For the Father may be said allegorically to be the light, the Son the brightness and the Holy Spirit the flame. . .²

Prevostin, on the other hand, used a mythical parallel to illustrate the same point:

So the Son proceeds secretly from the bosom of the Father. Thus the river that springs forth from paradise. Thus Pallas born from the head of Jove without conception. . .³

1. 'O clavis David. . .' MS. B.N. 3818, f. 7.

2. 'Sicut enim tres candelae sibi iunctae vel sibi similes sibi econtrales si accendantur unam habent lucem, nec maior nec minor est unius lux quam alterius sed trium est lux una et individua, sic in una deitate tres sunt personae nec una persona maior quam alia, nec unius minor vel alia natura quam alterius. Pater autem spiritualiter dicitur lux, Filius splendor, Spiritus sanctus flamma. . .' Ser. 'O oriens splendor. . .' MS. Toulouse 195, f. 97. See the series of similes adduced by Peter of Roissy, above p. 97, n. 1.

3. 'Ita Filius a sinu patris occulte procedit. Ecce fluvius qui de paradiso voluptatis egreditur. Ecce Pallas de cerebro Jovis sine commixione nata. . .' Ser. 'Veniet Dominus. . .' MS. Arsenal 543, f. 215a.

Langton used simile frequently and effectively. He explained for example the importance of confession to his audience by comparing its effect on the soul with the presumably familiar preservative qualities of myrrh on a corpse¹. Similarly Prevostin drew a parallel between the Fall and its consequences for mankind and the procedures governing bequeathal in Roman law that would obviously only have been effective if he had been preaching to students with some legal training².

Contemporary similes such as this had much in common with another new illustrative device introduced into the scholastic sermon at the end of the twelfth century, namely the exemplum. The exemplum was simply an anecdote designed to illustrate and reinforce the teaching of the sermon. The most obvious source from which to take such exempla was the bible. It was from the bible that Peter of Roissy drew his rather untypical exemplum to illustrate the doctrine of the Trinity and it is biblical stories that constitute most of Prevostin's exempla³.

1. 'Sicut mirra conservat corpus a putridine sic confessio animam a peccati fetore'. Ser. 26a, MS. B.N. 14593, f. 74a.

2. '. . . istud perversum testimonium quod primus parens fecit in quo fuerunt ea quae iuxta Romanam legem in testimonio exiguntur, scilicet testator, heres, hereditas, septem testes in suis sigillis. Testator fuit primus homo, heres diabolus, hereditas posteritas humana, septem testes septem principalia vitia. . .' Ser. 'Cum appropinquasset . . .' MS. B.N. Add. 18835, f. 12.

3. The last two pieces included in the British Museum collection (ff. 24-25v) are not in fact sermons at all but exempla (drawn from non-biblical sources).

However, preachers quickly learnt to mine other literary sources, religious and pagan, and indeed their personal experiences, for suitable material.

Stephen Langton was the first scholastic preacher to use exempla, taken from a variety of non-biblical sources, with any regularity. His sermon on the text 'They who wait for the Lord' (Is. 40:31) illustrates the uses to which the new device might be put¹. He began with a classic illustration of the symbolism through which medieval man viewed his surroundings. The world itself, said Langton, is merely a messenger announcing the imminent arrival of his master, death. Those who refused to read the letters that the messenger brought and to act accordingly would be punished . . .

. . .just as, if someone refused to read writs sent to him by a temporal king which informed him that the king intended to stay with him, he would be punished for his negligence.

So, said Langton, one must turn to God, in particular by fasting and giving alms. Sincere alms-giving, he assured his audience, would not diminish their personal wealth and he quoted a series of exempla to illustrate the point. The first dealt with a good layman:

At a time of great famine a certain english townsman made a resolution to distribute every day three measures of corn. This he duly did. After the famine he found that he had forty

1. Ser. 83b, MS. B.N. 12420, ff. 61b-63va.

2. '. . . sicuti si aliquis nollet legere litteras missas sibi ab aliquo rege temporalis in quibus continetur quod rex vellet cum eo hospitari, quia imperatus, de negligentia redargueretur.' F. 61va.

measures left, yet at the beginning of the famine he had only had thirty. Thus will God replenish goods given as alms.¹

Langton followed this with the story of the bishop who stole his nephew's money to feed the poor. The nephew objected and the money was restored by divine providence, but the nephew forfeited the bishopric he had expected to inherit from his uncle. Langton adapted the story from Gregory the Great². Together the two exempla should have made an impact on both the laity and the clergy in the audience. Langton offered a third exemplum in a similar vein taken from the life of St. Paulinus. Finally he quoted the biblical story of the loaves and the fishes. These last two, of course, made the same general point but did so with the added weight of saintly and biblical authority. Having thus firmly established the general importance of alms Langton went on in a more academic manner to 'distinguish' the traditional seven forms of alms-giving specified by Tobias (2:7). In the manuscripts the 'distinction' appears as little more than a schema but doubtless Langton would have elaborated in delivery.

In this way Langton used symbolism, simile, exempla and 'distinction' to bring home the importance of alms-giving.

1. 'In tempore maxime famis quidam burgensis Angliae proposuit in animo sui dare singulis diebus 3 quartas frumenti, quod opere complevit. Post transactam famem remanserunt ei 40 quartas. Recordatus est quod in initio famis non habuit nisi 30 quartas et sic Deus multiplicaverit bona distributa per elemosinam'. F. 62rb.

2. Roberts, op.cit., pp. 88-89.

The sermon is a good illustration of the variety of techniques available to the preacher and of the flexibility with which they could be employed by him. Here 'distinction' does not dominate as it tended to do in the sermons of Langton's contemporaries. He was concerned above all to make one fairly straightforward point. Refinement and definition came later. For the primary task, simile and exempla appeared to Langton to be more appropriate for the task of explaining the teaching and its consequences in contemporary terms and through contemporary situations and figures that would make an impact upon the audience. His preaching manifests the changing nature of Paris scholasticism in the late twelfth century. His sermons were less academic, less cerebral than those of his Paris predecessors (though still didactic). The new exegetical devices at his disposal made the sermon more flexible and more accessible to wider audiences.

Exempla were rapidly adopted in the thirteenth century as fully integrated devices of scholastic preaching. The sermons of such early thirteenth century preachers as Odo of Cheriton and Jacques de Vitry are full of them. Collections of exempla were compiled and classified thematically or alphabetically as reference aids for preachers. William de Montibus at the end of the twelfth century included exempla in his Similitudinarius¹.

1. See J. Welter, L'Exemplum dans la Littérature Religieuse et Didactique du Moyen-Age (Paris, 1927), passim.

As a simple story the exemplum was regarded as a technique particularly appropriate for preaching to the laity, for it could convey a general teaching that couched in more academic language might pass over their heads¹. At the end of the prologue to his Ars de Modo Praedicandi Alexander of Ashby announced that he had compiled a collection of exempla drawn from the lives of the saints that would prove particularly useful for preaching to the uneducated².

Nevertheless, the use of exempla in scholastic preaching and specifically in Langton's preaching cannot be taken as evidence of the fact that these sermons were delivered to the laity. Exempla appeared in biblical commentaries at about the same time as they were first used in sermons³. They were exploited as a valuable technique of scholastic teaching and it is only natural therefore that they should be incorporated into the scholastic sermon also. They served to make the material with which the master, as teacher or preacher, dealt more accessible both for the immediate student audience and for those beyond to whom the students might eventually preach in their turn and of whom Paris masters at the end of the century were becoming increasingly conscious. Langton's

1. Smalley, op.cit., p. 256.

2. '... quia, ut in subsequenti opere moneo, ut in sacro sermone aliqua sanctorum exempla plerumque ad simplicium edificacionem interseras, forte adhuc tibi transmittam libellum de miraculis sanctorum quem iam ex magna parte inedite composui'. MS. Cambridge Univ. Ii-I-24, p. 332b.

3. Smalley, op.cit., p. 257.

absorption of the new technique into his preaching may be seen not so much as an indication of a change of audience as a stage in the evolution of the sermon from a purely scholastic instrument to one fit to be preached to clergy and laity alike.

Chapter 4. The Structure of the Sermon

The structure of the scholastic sermon was adapted both to exegetical techniques employed by the preachers and to the nature of the material they wished to communicate. For convenience these three aspects of the sermon have been treated in separate chapters but they were clearly interrelated and it would be quite misleading to regard them as independent elements. The structure of the sermon evolved from the techniques of biblical exegesis it employed. In particular, the 'distinction' that served initially to explore a biblical text gradually came to function as the skeletal outline of the entire sermon to be fleshed out with explanations, proofs and illustrations by the preacher. This process had not been completed by the end of the twelfth century. It only became standardised in the much more ambitious mendicant preaching of the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, preachers used the 'distinction' erratically and inconsistently to organise the sermon with increasing frequency as the twelfth century progressed.

The achievement of this first stage in the process of the evolution of a structured scholastic sermon was recognised and consolidated by the appearance, in the last decades of the twelfth century and the first of the thirteenth, of theoretical treatises on the art of preaching. It is important to emphasise that in the twelfth century this evolution was essentially a pragmatic process responding to the requirements of ecclesiastical reform and exploiting

the available forms of scholastic argument rather than attempting to conform to canons of rhetorical theory. The artes praedicandi did not, therefore, play a formative role in the development of the scholastic sermon in the twelfth century. They do however indicate the nature and ultimate direction of that development and they formed a theoretical basis for the accelerated development of the thirteenth century.

(i) The Thema

The structure of the sermon was largely determined by its relation to, and development of, the biblical text that was its ostensible subject. The nature and use of such a text defined the essential characteristics of the scholastic sermon and distinguished it from other forms of preaching, in particular the homily.

The homily was the predominant pre-scholastic sermon form available to medieval preachers. It was in homiletic form that the preaching and much of the biblical commentary of the early Church fathers survived. The homily took as its subject a complete biblical passage that it proceeded to expound phrase by phrase at various levels of complexity according to the capacities of both audience and preacher. In so far as the homily was intended to serve a particular liturgical function as an explanation of the gospel reading of the mass the biblical passage selected was inevitably the relevant New Testament pericope.

The scholastic sermon never entirely superseded the

homily. Some preachers, such as Langton for example, adapted the characteristic homiletic interpretation of a complete biblical story or incident in a single consistent symbolic mode for their scholastic preaching. New homiletic liturgical cycles, intended ultimately for the laity (of which, perhaps, Maurice of Sully's are the best known), were composed and it is clear that much of the popular vernacular preaching of which only the occasional trace now survives must have used homiletic forms.

For the Paris masters, however, the homily was not quite the instrument they required. They preached to educated university and ecclesiastical audiences for whom a simple paraphrase or interpretation of the gospel was otiose. Instead, the preachers wished to instruct their audiences in the religious doctrines of faith and moral conduct that constituted Christianity and that were currently being revised and redefined in the Paris schools. For this purpose a preacher required a familiar biblical text that was a source of the doctrine he intended to discuss in his sermon or that might relevantly be used to introduce that doctrine.

This was the origin of the biblical text (the thema) that stood at the head of the scholastic sermon and that contained or introduced the preacher's theme. Unlike the extended biblical passage that was the subject of the homily the thema might consist of only a verse or part of a verse and, as we saw in the previous chapter, was removed from its scriptural and historical context in order to serve an essentially theological purpose.

In their study of the bible the twelfth century masters gradually corrected the concentration of pre-scholastic exegesis on the Psalter and Pauline epistles. The Laon masters followed a wider exegetical curriculum. They lectured on all four of the gospels and their pupils and disciples in Paris provided gospel commentaries and glosses to make up for the absence of any such pre-existing material¹.

This broadening of the exegetical syllabus was reflected only faintly and tardily in the preaching of those same Paris masters. They tended overwhelmingly to select their themae from Old Testament texts. Comestor, for example, who lectured and left commentaries on all four of the gospels preached only 12 sermons of his standard collection on New Testament themae. Of these, 9 were taken from the gospels. Of Lombard's 35 sermons only 2 have New Testament themae. Towards the end of the century there was some levelling-out. The proportion of Old Testament to New Testament themae in Alan of Lille's sermons is approximately 3:2 and in Prevostin's 2:1. Only Langton took roughly as many themae from the New Testament as from the Old².

This preference for Old Testament themae reflected what still remained the general bias of twelfth century scholastic exegesis. It served the particular interest in the literal

1. B. Smalley, 'Some Gospel Commentaries of the Early Twelfth Century', R.T.A.M., 45 (1978), 147-180.

2. The figures are: Alan, 33:20 (d'Alverny, Alain de Lille, pp. 127-140 ignoring non biblical themae); Prevostin, 42:22 (Schneyer, Repertorium, iv. 870-6); Langton, 62:57 (Roberts, Stephen Langton, pp. 168-193 class 1 ignoring variants).

sense and in tropological symbolism that has already been identified as characteristic of Paris exegesis in the period and it enabled preachers to illustrate repeatedly and variously the interrelation between the Old and New Testaments.

By far the most favoured of the Old Testament books were the Psalter and the prophets. The former was the best known of all the books of the bible and was favoured by both exegetes and preachers alike because of the predominant role it took in the liturgy and in the monastic offices in particular. Since in some respects the twelfth century conception of scholarship remained essentially monastic and since Paris masters expressed a particular admiration for the contemplative life this constant recourse to the Psalter is hardly surprising.

The prophets, primarily the major prophets but by no means exclusively, provided texts that served the three principal functions of the scholastic sermon. They offered passages of jewish history, they set out both literally and symbolically moral and religious teachings and they included what christians universally understood to be metaphorical prophecies of the coming of Christ.

The biblical history was further supplemented by themae drawn from the Pentateuch and, rather more rarely, from the books of Kings. Alan of Lille had advised his preachers to select their themae from the gospels, the Psalter, the Pauline epistles and the books of Solomon for purposes of moral instruction¹. The preachers made some use of the sapiential

1. De Arte Praedicandi, P.L. 210:113C.

books and especially of the Song of Songs but perhaps one of the most surprising aspects of the choice of themae is the infrequency with which they used the epistles. These, together with the Psalter, were one of the most studied texts of the bible¹. They were an obvious source of theological teaching and Alan had recommended them as appropriate for preaching on religious subjects. Yet even he took the thema of only one sermon from them. So too did Lombard whose expansion of the Laon gloss of the epistles became a standard schools textbook.

The thema functioned in much the same way as any other biblical text adduced during the course of the sermon. It asserted, or was in some way relevant to, the point with which the preacher was dealing. Indeed, although the thema supplied the subject and point of departure for the scholastic preacher it was in itself much less important to the substance and structure of the sermon than was the equivalent biblical passage for the homily.

The preacher who delivered a homily set out from a prescribed passage and hence subject. The return to New Testament themae, therefore, at the end of the century was also in some respects a reassertion of the liturgical role and context of the sermon. Virtually all of Langton's New Testament themae were taken from the relevant gospel pericope or epistle² and were treated in a manner that was in some

1. Smalley, 'Gospel Commentaries', pp. 147-8.

2. There are considerable difficulties in reconstituting precisely the liturgy (or liturgies) in use in Paris in the twelfth century. For the choice of New Testament readings in the thirteenth century mass see L.J. Bataillon, 'Sur Quelque Sermon de S. Bonaventura', S. Bonaventura

ways a reversion to homiletic forms. Moreover, whereas on the comparatively rare occasions that Comestor and Alan of Lille preached on gospel themae they tended to prefer John as a source, Langton made greater use of the synoptic gospels. One senses in his preaching a desire to tell a story and a hankering after the anecdotal quality of the homily.

Conversely when the Paris masters chose to preach on Old Testament themae the relationship between them and liturgical use was less apparent. One of the advantages of the new form of sermon was that, for a given liturgical context, it offered the preacher a much wider scope in the selection of texts than the homily. Comestor, for example, took his thema 'Laetare Jerusalem' for a lenten sermon from the 'Introitus' of the mass¹ and Alan's sermon for the Ascension was preached on a thema taken from the 'Gradual'². A single thema might be used in different liturgical contexts. Several preachers, as we have seen, preached sermons on the thema 'Go forth daughters of Sion' (Cant. 3:11) and included substantially the same material³. However, whereas Lombard's sermon was delivered during Easter week Comestor's was designed to be preached on the feast of the Annunciation. On the other hand different thema might serve for sermons delivered in the same liturgical context. The Advent sermons of Lombard, Comestor and Peter

1. Ser. 24.

2. Ser. 'Ascendens Christus', d'Alverny, op.cit., p. 128.

3. Above, p. 90.

of Poitiers, to take three preachers at random, have no themae in common.

Clearly criteria other than, or in addition to, the strictly liturgical governed the selection of the thema. One such, obviously, was the nature of the commonly accepted symbolism of a text. The same verses from the Song of Songs recur as themae for the feasts of the Virgin not because they were used in the liturgy specifically but because of the Marian interpretation of the entire Canticle, and therefore of much of its imagery, current in the twelfth century.

More fundamentally, in contrast to the homiliarist, the schools preacher thought first of all of the subject-matter with which he intended to deal and then selected his thema accordingly rather than taking as his subject the pericope prescribed by the liturgy. There was no necessary contradiction between the two approaches. The preacher's choice of material, and hence thema, was certainly influenced by the liturgical context in which the sermon would be delivered. Advent and Lent preaching manifest certain general characteristics. Nevertheless, the general criteria weighing in the selection of a thema are illustrated in the model sermons of Alan of Lille's De Arte Praedicandi. The sermons are classified according to subject-matter and audience and their thema selected accordingly. Thus, for example, Alan offered several themae suitable for sermons to be preached on the subject of vanity and told his prospective preachers that in the last resort any biblical

verse that was relevant to the subject could serve as thema¹. In his own preaching he was not averse to drawing his thema from classical literature if he felt so inclined².

Thus the anecdotal quality of the homily and the biblical passage it selected was laid aside in favour of a more academic thematic essay on a subject initiated by the thema. It is indeed this particular relationship between the thema and the sermon that is one of the most characteristic features of scholastic preaching and that served as the structural foundation of the sermon proper.

(ii) The Prothema

In the fully developed mendicant sermon of the thirteenth century the exposition of the thema and discussion of the principal subject-matter of the sermon was delayed by the introduction of a second biblical text, the prothema, immediately after the thema itself. The prothema provided material for an introductory paragraph and at its most complex could function virtually as a second sermon within a sermon, subject to all the procedures of 'distinction' and division with which the thema itself was treated. The prothema served a variety of purposes. It provided the preacher with the opportunity, in what became something of a rhetorical trope, to juxtapose his own personal inadequacy to preach with the sublimity of the scripture with which he would deal, thus conveniently at the same time introducing his material

1. P.L. 210:116D.

2. Above, p. 101.

and stressing its importance. It enabled him to discuss subsidiary and prefatory aspects of his subject-matter and, more banally, it allowed him to mark time while latecomers arrived and the audience settled¹. The prothematic passage invariably concluded with a prayer imploring inspiration for the preacher and understanding for the audience. It was followed by a restatement of the thema and the beginning of the sermon proper.

Twelfth century scholastic preachers made no use of a prothema as such. There was inevitably, however, in a discourse such as the sermon, a place for some sort of introductory paragraph. Sometimes a brief exposition of the literal sense or scriptural context of the thema served this function as was discussed in the previous chapter. Often however a genuine introductory passage preceding any sort of exegesis and commonly employing a humility trope is apparent. Comestor, for example, began a sermon in typically prothematic fashion by insisting on his own personal inadequacy and worthlessness and at the same time on the supreme importance of Scripture and its exposition which used him, the preacher, as a conduit:

I who speak to you am nothing but dust and
ashes. I am ashamed and embarrassed,
therefore, to preach to you the word of God.²

He went on to express the hope that his audience would not expect too much of him by way of eloquence or profundity and

1. Humbert of Romain, Opera de Vita Regulari (quoted R. and M. Rouse, Manipulus Florum, p. 85).

2. 'Pulvis sum ego et cinis, qui loquor vobis. Propterea erubesco et vereor vobis loqui verbum Dei'. Ser. 36, P.L. 171:627B.

that he would not be reproached for having had the presumption to preach on matters beyond his grasp. He finished with an invocation or prayer for divine assistance:

O Lord open my mouth so that you may fill it,
for this present feast in praise of the
blessed Virgin provides us with suitable
material for a sermon. . .¹

The prayer led up to the first statement of the text that effectively functions as the thema and with that Comestor began its exposition and the sermon proper.

Introductory passages such as this can be found in sermons of most of the Paris masters of the period. Hilduin, for example, was particularly apologetic and humble at the outset of a sermon that took as its thema the opening verse of John's gospel, a text that he considered to be especially difficult².

Langton used such passages more frequently than did other Paris preachers. Often they concluded with the abbreviation 'Pater noster', indicating a prayer, and a restatement of the thema³. Rather more rarely a second biblical text was quoted that functioned, to all intents and purposes, as a prothema. His sermon for the feast of St. Andrew, for example, was preached on the gospel pericope

1. 'Tu autem Domine Sabaoth, aperi os meum, ut impleas illud. Porro solemnitas praesens de laude beatae Virginis offert nobis materiam loquendi. . . ' ibid.

2. Ser. 'In principio erat verbum. . . ', MS. Maz. 774, f. 198^{bis} vb.

3. e.g. sermons 80a (MS. B.N. 16463, f. 79vb), 83b (MS. B.N. 12420, f. 83b), 89 (MS. B.N. 16463, f. 63a) etc.

'Follow me and I will make you fishers of men' (Math. 4:19)¹. This thema was followed by a prothema taken from the day's epistle: 'The same Lord is Lord of all and bestows his riches upon all who call upon him' (Rom. 10:12). It led naturally enough to the concluding 'Pater noster' and a restatement of the thema.

In some cases the lay-out of the text in the manuscript itself indicated the use of a prothema. The restatement of the thema was indented and copied in a coloured ink so as to indicate clearly the transition from the introductory disavowal and invocation that depended on the prothema to the exposition of the thema that constituted the sermon proper².

No doubt the sort of prothematic passages found in Langton's sermons are somewhat modest when compared to the equivalent passages in thirteenth century mendicant preaching. Nevertheless they are portentous. It has been suggested that the prothema was first used by Dominican preachers in the 1230s and was particularly associated with university preaching³. The evidence of Langton's sermons requires some revision of the view. The prothema was a gradual development from a quite natural preaching practice and its use in Langton's sermons indicates, once again, a revision of the

1. Ser. 117a, MS. B.N. 16463, f. 56vb.

2. Ser. 42, MS. Arsenal 400, f. 74va.

3. R. and M. Rouse, Manipulus Florum, pp. 73-6.

scholastic sermon towards the end of the twelfth century in view of the wider audiences, clerical and lay, to whom the Dominicans in particular would direct their attentions.

(iii) Treatment of the Thema

The emergence of the scholastic sermon from the homily can be clearly traced in the preaching of successive twelfth century Paris preachers. Robert Pullen, preaching in the first half of the century, was heavily influenced by homiletic forms. Although he used scholastic exegetical techniques he did not share the essentially scholastic concept of the thema. In some cases, indeed, there is no text at all at the head of his sermons. More often than not the sermon followed a complete passage of biblical narrative, interpreting it phrase by phrase in a consistent symbolic sense and preserving at both literal and symbolic levels the anecdotal structure. In this respect the illustrative sermon 'Quatuor reges. . .' is entirely typical of Pullen's preaching style. The homilies have no obvious liturgical context. Several of them follow passages of Old Testament history and only three take as their subject New Testament texts. So unlike later scholastic preaching are Pullen's sermons that it has been suggested that they are not really sermons at all but are rather lectures¹. Since, particularly in the first half of the twelfth century, lectures themselves were intended to form their audiences morally no less than intellectually and since the 'master

1. Smalley, Becket Conflict, p. 243.

of the holy page' still remained in part a pastoral figure the distinction between homiletic lectures and academic sermons might indeed be fine. As has been said Pullen's sermons were clearly academic (in the sense of delivered in a university environment) though not yet scholastic (in form). It was, precisely, only the gradual definition of a sermon form and the delimitation of particular preaching concerns that, together with parallel developments in other fields of academic writing, facilitated the creation of a distinctive scholastic sermon.

In contrast to Robert Pullen's homiletic treatment of a biblical passage Peter Lombard preached on a single verse or phrase in the standard scholastic manner. He tended, however, to discuss at length sections of the thema that interested him and to neglect those that did not. The first sermon of his collection, for example, was preached for Advent on the thema 'I saw in the night visions' (Dan. 7:13)¹. It was the general subject of the thema as a whole that interested Lombard rather than any particular element in it. Daniel's vision was understood as a prophecy of the Incarnation and most of the sermon is a somewhat rambling discussion of the advent of Christ, littered with biblical quotation, rather than an exegesis of specific elements of the thema. Only the idea of a 'visio noctis' and its corollaries, a 'visio diei' and a 'visio lucis' occupied him for any length of time. So too the thema 'Return, O Israel,

1. Ser. 1, P.L. 171:370-376.

to the Lord' (Os. 14:1) provided a sermon on the general notion of repentance and return to God, supported by appropriate biblical quotation and not a close analysis of the thema itself¹. Any of these subsidiary biblical texts, one feels, might just as well have served as a thema for the same sermon. Structurally the thema was just one of any number of biblical texts relevant to the subject that Lombard wished to discuss.

On the other hand, Lombard evidently felt a need to cover the ground. He may have chosen to concentrate, for most of his sermon, on a particular idea or phrase of the thema but he could not afford to abandon the rest of it entirely. His sermons sometimes give the impression of an essay by an exam candidate who has spent fifty minutes discussing one point and who suddenly realises he has only ten minutes left in which to deal with four more. Thus the sermon 'O that I had wings like a dove. I would fly away and be at rest' (Ps. 55:6, vulg. 54:7) is, for the most part, a description of the 'wings' of vice on which one 'flys' to sin, the chains by which one is restrained there and their virtuous counterparts by which one might return to God². In the very last sentences of this sermon Lombard turned to the words 'dove' and 'rest' which he had as yet barely mentioned and swiftly placed them in the symbolic canvas he had sketched.

1. Ser. 12, P.L. 171:443-451.

2. Ser. 31, ed. Hauréau, Notices et Extraits, iii. 44-49.

So too in the sermon 'I saw in the night visions' Lombard, having proceeded at length through a discussion of the Incarnation and the contrasting revelations of God in the Old and New Testaments, briefly explained in the final paragraph the three quarters of the thema which he had, until that moment, ignored.

Occasionally Lombard treated his thema in a particular way that gradually became more common as the twelfth century progressed and that became standard practice in the thirteenth. The initial approach to the thema invariably recommended by the artes praedicandi and largely followed by the mendicants was to divide it up into manageable sections and then to deal with, and to subdivide, each section in turn. We may see an early example of this approach in Lombard's sermon on the thema 'Pone mensam, contemplare in specula comedentes et bibentes; surgite principes, accipite clypeum' (Is. 21:5ff)¹. He began the sermon, which was delivered on the anniversary of the Last Supper, by isolating the four constituent actions contained within the thema and presenting them as a consistent teaching on a single subject.

Firstly we are told to set out the meal, then to look out from the watchtower, after that to rise up and take the sword, finally to eat and drink.²

The meal was, inevitably, understood as a symbol for the eucharist. The watchtower Lombard interpreted as Scripture

1. Ser. 19, P.L. 171:510-524.

2. 'Prius enim jubemur ponere mensam, inde contemplari in specula, deinde surgere et accipere gladium et tandem comedere et bibere'. Ibid., c. 510.

in which, were he to search, the pious christian might find instruction in the mysteries of the faith, of which the eucharist was one, and in the human virtues that were required of him if he was to be worthy to partake of it. Thirdly came the instruction to 'rise up' from carnal desires to spiritual aspirations and to defend oneself with the 'shield', and other parts of armour that represented the christian virtues, against the assaults and temptations of the devil. When this process had been completed the christian would be ready and deserving to 'eat and drink' the body and blood of Christ.

A résumé such as this makes clear the general outline of the sermon as a sustained discussion of a defined subject. The sermon itself, however, is troubled by two contradictions that are entirely characteristic of twelfth century preaching.

First of all symbolic and rational argument lie uneasily together. Lombard's sermon was intended at once to offer both a consistent teaching on the nature of the eucharist and the religious preparation required for it on the one hand and to display the richness and allusiveness of his thema in particular and of Scripture in general on the other. In the first section of the sermon, the discussion of the 'meal', the two strands of argument are indistinguishable. The section is dominated by essentially exegetical arguments dictated by the logic of biblical symbolism and which consist in the main of drawing parallels between the Passion and the eucharist and their prefiguration in Old Testament sacrifices. The intention of course, which was never explicitly stated, was to demonstrate yet again the interrelation of the two

revelations. Constant reference to Old Testament quotation and illustration brought up a series of details concerning the sacrificial practices of the Israelites which themselves had to be explained and interpreted. Together with this exegesis lies a fairly superficial discussion, based on theological teaching, that dealt primarily with the manner in which the christian should prepare for the eucharist. Thus symbolic and rational forms of argument intertwine and constantly interrupt and redirect each other in a manner that is sometimes difficult to contain within the basic plan of the sermon.

There was a second difficulty that was particularly associated with this manner of treating the thema. Preachers had to expound the meaning or meanings of the individual sections of the thema while at the same time fusing them into one or several consistent interpretations of the thema as a whole. Lombard was evidently aware of the problem. At the outset of his sermon he 'distinguished' three biblical usages of the word 'mensa' but immediately specified that only one of these was to be understood in the thema and that it was with this only that he would deal. Though he could thus limit the exegetical possibilities offered by the thema the moral teaching contained within even a single symbolic interpretation of it threatened to get out of hand. In the second section of the sermon, interpreting the phrase 'contemplare in specula', the watchtower was understood as Scripture. Lombard 'distinguished' and discussed five religious virtues that, he explained, ought to be acquired

from a study of Scripture and that were essential to participation in the eucharist. The passage accounts for over one third of the sermon and leaves well behind the original context in which the plan of the sermon had placed it.

This tendency to set out at tangents from the thema is still more apparent in the preaching of Lombard's pupil Peter Comestor. Comestor's approach to the thema 'Take your son Issac. . . ' (Gen. 22:2) used the same technique of division while preserving the anecdotal quality of the homily. He divided the elements of the story of the binding of Issac into various sections and discussed and subdivided each in turn. He began by explaining that Abraham passed through three periods of life, like Augustin~~o~~ of whom he is identified as a prefiguration and who is the subject of the sermon. Comestor went on to identify four symbolic meanings of the mountain on which the sacrifice was to take place. The mountain suggested to him the sermon on the mount which blesses, among others, the poor. There are five categories of the poor. . . and so on¹. Here the dangers of digressions that fracture the homogeneity of the sermon are apparent. So too is the tendency to accumulate series of 'distinctions' of both the thema itself and of additional texts adduced in support that is particularly characteristic of the preaching of Comestor and Hilduin. Comestor's sermons, indeed, sometimes read as an apparently inexhaustible string of 'distinctions' and subdivisions.

1. Ser. 14, P.L. 198:1796-1800.

The thema might also be divided in other ways. One such was to apply to it the series of questions that on a smaller scale was sometimes used to explore its historical context¹ and which may have owed something to classical rhetorical practice². The thema 'God stands in the synagogue of the gods' (Ps. 81:1) answers in itself, explained Comestor, the questions who stands, where and why. Consequently, each question may be answered by a division of the thema itself. Further 'distinction' of each division constitutes the sermon. The answer to the first question, for example, is God, in whom are subsumed the qualities of power, justice, wisdom and mercy. The answer to the second question is the synagogue. Comestor explained that the latin for the greek word synagogue was 'congregation' (congregatio) and he 'distinguished' four such congregations, and so on³.

Comestor and Lombard adopted this approach of division and 'distinction' of the thema comparatively infrequently. The difficulties associated with it could be avoided by preserving the thema intact and reinterpreting it in its entirety at various symbolic levels. Comestor particularly favoured this approach when preaching to religious houses. His sermon on the thema 'The calf, the lion and the lamb shall lie down together. . .' (Is. 11:6), delivered to the canons of St. Germain on the feast day of the apostle James, the martyr Christopher and the confessor Germanus offered three parallel interpretations of the three animals⁴. At

1. Above, p.p.71-2.

2. L. Arbuzov, Colores Rhetorici (Gottingen, 1948), p. 93.

3. Ser. 56.

4. Ser. 33.

the general level they represented respectively the Jews, the pagans and the Christians, all united in Christ. At a second level they represented the three classes of saints to which James, Christopher and Germanus belonged. Finally they represented three aspects of monastic life. The thema was thus shown to be directed to humanity as a whole, to Christians in particular and specifically to the monastic order to which Comestor was preaching. Similarly a sermon delivered in St. Victor on the feast of St. Augustine interpreted the thema so as to address it in turn to the christian just ('generalis'), to Augustine ('singularis') and to the canons of the house ('specialis')¹.

However, by the end of the twelfth century in the sermons of Alan of Lille and Peter of Poitiers the combination of division of the thema followed by 'distinction' of each of the members of the division had become standard practice. In the process the two preachers had learnt to shape their material in this mould with greater purpose and rigour than Lombard and Comestor had found possible. The structure lent direction, concision and consistency to their sermons and enabled them to combine the thorough exploration of the thema with the organised treatment of related subject-matter.

We may take as an example Peter of Poitiers' sermon on the thema 'Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection. In these the second death has no power but they shall be priests of God and of Christ' (Apoc. 20:6) which has been edited below as an illustrative text. After some

1. Ser. 13, P.L. 198:1793A.

introductory remarks on John's biography and the circumstances in which the book of the Apocalypse was written Peter divided his thema in a manner now familiar and related each element of the division to the general subject-matter with which he intended to deal:

In these words he teaches us of the nature of the reward when he says "Blessed and holy", of the means of acquiring it when he says "is he that hath part in the first resurrection", of the release of man when he adds "in these the second death has no power" and of his resurrection in dignity when he says "but they shall be priests of God and of Christ".¹

In the sermon that followed Peter took each element of the division in turn and discussed and explored them by means of 'distinction'. In the first instance he dealt with man's ultimate reward, blessedness. He defined it and 'distinguished' seven virtues by which man might hope to merit it. For the second member of the division Peter explained that blessedness was to be acquired by participation in Christ's resurrection. He 'distinguished' two forms of resurrection, of the soul and of the body, and four ways in which man might participate in the first. The reward that man thus earned, release from death, was the subject of the third section of the sermon. Here Peter 'distinguished' three categories of death suffered by those of varying degrees of moral worth. Finally, Peter directed himself specifically to the clergy. They had already received a reward, for they had been set apart by anointment. They were to merit it by teaching and living in an exemplary fashion.

1. P. 278, ll. 27-32.

This pattern of division and 'distinction' shaped the majority of Peter's sermons. It enabled him to explore various complementary meanings of individual words or phrases of the thema while at the same time preserving the nature of the sermon as a balanced composition on a single subject. In contrast to Lombard, who generally selected only one meaning of successive words of his thema, Peter 'distinguished' various meanings, or constituent elements, of key words or concepts and discussed them during the course of the sermon. Moreover he successfully avoided, for the most part, the profuse identification of symbolic imagery and religious material that the strings of 'distinctions' in Comestor's preaching tended to produce and that often resulted in sermons vitiated by unexplained imagery and incomplete arguments. Peter of Poitiers' sermons, in contrast, are an impressive combination of exegesis and thematic instruction structured in a form that is clear and practical without being oppressive.

It must be said, however, that Peter's prose style and the sometimes mechanical manner in which the pattern of the sermon unravels tend to produce rather lacklustre preaching. The contrast with Alan of Lille's preaching is invidious for the latter imbues what is essentially the same sermon form with a language of much greater urgency and vivacity. Indeed, as has already been pointed out, Alan's use of language was an important part of his preaching technique.

Structurally Alan's and Peter's sermons are similar. Like Peter Alan had the ability, largely absent in his predecessors, to combine the thorough exposition of the

thema with a coherent treatment of related subject-matter. His sermon on the feast of St. Benedict delivered to monks, probably in the Midi, on the thema 'Beatus vir qui inventus est sine macula et qui post aurum non abiit nec speravit in pecunia et thesauris' (Ps. 31:8) is a particularly striking example. Alan progressed systematically through the thema expounding each word or phrase by 'distinguishing' in it different constituent elements or symbolic levels and relating everything to the subject of his sermon. So, for example, Benedict could be regarded as the 'man' of the thema 'a virtute, a virore, a virilitate'. Alan 'distinguished' between those who are 'in macula', 'cum macula', 'sub macula' and 'super maculam'. Christ alone was without sin but Benedict though he knew sin was none the less not subject to it. So too of the four classes of treasure that Alan 'distinguished', a treasure of wealth, wisdom, grace and glory, it was only the first that Benedict did not pursue¹. The general impression left by the sermon is that Alan successfully combined a thorough exploration of issues raised by the thema with a comprehensive survey of the practical and symbolic significance of St. Benedict for his audience.

A particular variation of this pattern of division of the thema followed by 'distinction' of elements of the division was to make the initial division itself a 'distinction'. This practice was extremely rare in the twelfth century though more common in the thirteenth². It pushed the schematising

1. Ser. 'Beatus vir. . .', MS. Toulouse 195, f. 106v.

2. See the remarks on Bonaventura's preaching in R. and M. Rouse, Manipulus Florum, p. 76.

tendencies of scholastic preaching to their most extreme form and enabled the preacher to structure his sermon round a single initial 'distinction'. Since the preacher now took all his material from a 'distinction' of one word or phrase of the thema instead of 'distinguishing' several such words or phrases in turn the practice had the advantage of further consolidating the homogeneity of the sermon and the material with which it dealt.

A rare example of this use of 'distinction' is found in Comestor's synodal preaching which, on the whole, is more tightly organised than are his liturgical sermons. An outline of one such on the thema 'The children beg for bread' (Lam. 4:4) will make the point¹.

1. The sermon begins by setting the thema in its historical context: These are the words of Jeremiah in Babylon.
2. There follows an exhortation to the clergy to feed the faithful with 'bread'.
3. A prefatory 'distinction' defines two categories of 'bread':
 - i) 'Panis mundus' (for sons).
 - ii) 'Panis immundus' (for servants).
 These two will be united in heaven.
4. Then follows the principal 'distinction' of the sermon: Three different 'breads' are defined in scripture:
 - A) 'Panis Pharaonis'.
 - B) 'Panis oblationis'.
 - C) 'Panis propitiationis'.

1. Ser. 6, P.L. 198:1827-9.

These are then described by a series of predicates and each in turn is subdivided.

A) 'Panis Pharaonis' may be divided, following 1 John 2:16, into

A (i) 'Concupiscentia carnis'.

A (ii) 'Concupiscentia oculorum'.

A (iii) 'Superbia vitae'.

These are respectively identified as the vices of

A (i) Luxury.

A (ii) Avarice.

A (iii) Arrogance.

Each is then further described and supported by scriptural authority.

B) 'Panis oblationis' is interpreted by Comestor as prayer.

Prayer should be:

B (i) 'Ampla'.

B (ii) 'Devota'.

B (iii) 'Pura'.

The first two are explained. The last is, in its turn, subdivided. Comestor explains that the purity of prayer is dependent on:

B (iiia) 'Qualis petat'.

B (iiib) 'Quid petat'.

B (iiic) 'A quo petat'.

C) 'Panis propitiationis' similarly has three aspects:

C (i) The eucharist.

C (ii) 'Verbum doctrinae'.

C (iii) 'Exemplum vitae'.

5. The sermon concludes with a brief exhortation.

The sermon is thus organised around an initial 'distinction' followed by tripartite subdivisions of each of the members so defined. The 'distinction' seems clearly intended to structure the sermon and organise its material rather than to pursue the exegesis of the thema. It does not define different symbolic levels and any priest listening to the sermon would probably have emerged with a confused and incomplete notion of the various possible meanings of the thema. In contrast he would surely have had a very clear plan of his role in the community; the vices he must resist, the quality of the prayers he should offer and the nature of his sacramental, pedagogic and moral responsibilities.

Very few of Comestor's sermons were organised in this way by a single proliferating 'distinction'. The practice was more common but still rare in the sermons of Alan of Lille. Alan's approach in these cases was slightly different. Like Comestor he selected a single word of the thema and 'distinguished' several meanings of it. This, however, was the only significant 'distinction' in the sermon. Alan proceeded by explaining the rest of the thema in such a way as to be consistent with each meaning in turn of the word initially 'distinguished'. The sermon on the thema 'Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree' (Math 3:10/ Luc. 3:9) begins with a 'distinction' of the tree. It is used in the bible, Alan explained, to signify God as judge, human nature and human will. The rest of the thema is interpreted symbolically in three different ways each consistent with one of the meanings Alan had identified. In this way he was able to deal with three related subjects

united in a single sermon; the nature of Christ, the nature of man corrupted by the Fall and, lastly, man's inherent will to do good¹.

(iv) Gebuin of Troyes

In search of further examples of this practice of organising a sermon round an initial 'distinction' we must turn to the entirely unexpected and relatively unknown figure of Gebuin of Troyes. Gebuin was not part of the group of Paris based scholastic preachers whose sermons are the subject of this thesis. He is, however, relevant to it because like Alan of Lille and Peter Comestor, though sometime before them and in a completely different manner, he moved in his preaching towards the scholastic practice of using the principle of 'distinction' as the basis of the sermon structure.

Gebuin was already an archdeacon in 1120 when Hildebert of Lavardin recommended him to St. Bernard². He became one of Bernard's secretaries and as such was responsible for taking notes of, among other things, Bernard's preaching³.

1. Ser. 'Iam securis. . .', MS. Toulouse 195, ff. 114-5.
 2. Letter 18 (series 3), P.L. 171:294C.
 3. 'Aliqui fratres nonnulla ex his quae me coram audiere loquentem, stylo suo exceperunt. Quorum unus vobis praesto est, praecentor videlicet Trecensis et archidiaconus Gebuinus et facile potestis habere si qua placent, quae ab illo accepta sunt'. Bernard letter 17, P.L. 182:119C, quoted J. Leclercq, 'Gebouin de Troyes et S. Bernard', Recueil d'Etudes sur S. Bernard et ses Ecrits (Rome, 1962) i. p. 84, n. 1. Leclercq dates the letter 1126/7.

It is quite possible that some of the schematic 'distinctions' which appear to be annotations of Bernard's preaching were originally taken down in note form by Gebuin. Bernard evidently liked him¹. Unlike Bernard's other secretaries, however, Gebuin was not a Cistercian monk. He was a secular canon of Troyes cathedral, chantor by 1128² and chancellor by 1145³. He died before 1161.

Gebuin is not known to have written anything apart from his sermons, which are not gathered into an organised collection as such⁴. Many of them are non-liturgical. Nevertheless, they were well-known and admired. Nicholas of Clairvaux, another of Bernard's secretaries, praised Gebuin's preaching, though in a letter, it must be admitted, full of hyperbole:

1. In a letter to Peter the Venerable in 1138 Bernard described Gebuin as 'mihi et vobisque, ut credo, carissimus', G. Constable, The Letters of Peter the Venerable (1967, Harvard), ii. 206.

2. Lalore, Collection des Principaux Cartulaires du Diocèse de Troyes (1875-90), Paris), iv. 245.

3. Ibid., v. 16.

4. A collection of 47 sermons individually attributed to Gebuin appears in two St. Victor manuscripts almost certainly one copied from the other, B.N. 14937 and B.N. 14925. Two of the 47 are by Comestor. To this collection Schneyer (Repertorium, ii. 165-171) has added 5 sermons simply because they are found anonymously among other anonymous Gebuin sermons in B.N. 3730. He has also added 21 sermons from MS. Orleans 198 and 14 from MS. Colmar 37 for reasons which are not apparent from the respective catalogues. I have used only the sermons in the St. Victor manuscripts.

When the fluency of your tongue gushes forth
in golden speech I imagine Cicero or Quintillian
or another product of those classical schools
speaking.¹

He asked for a copy of one particular sermon which, or of
which, he had heard:

Would you be so gracious as to deign to send
me that sermon which you used to deliver on
the text "If the Son frees you then truly
you will be freed".²

John of Salisbury knew of Gebuin's preaching and wrote
to Peter of Celle in 1157 asking him to compile an anthology
of Bernard's 'works and yours and those of the precentor of
Troyes and any similar passages that are to be found'.³
Becket, too, wrote to Peter of Celle asking for copies of
Gebuin's preaching.⁴

Becket, perhaps, saw the preaching of Gebuin as a sort
of 'St. Bernard without tears', in which the intensity of
the monk's preaching was brought down to earth by the secular
canon.⁵ Leclercq has drawn attention to the rather peculiar

1. 'Dum linguae tuae volubilitas aureo sermone diffunditur,
Tullium aut Quintilianum vel aliquem ex illis veteribus
officinis perorare confiteor'. Letter 5, P.L. 196:1599D.

2. 'Sit in beneplacito tuae dignationis ut digneris mihi
mittere sermonum illum quem super illam Salvatoris sententiam
dicere solebas: "Si filius vos liberavit, vere liberi eritis"'.
ibid., c. 1600A. No sermon of Gebuin's on this thema (Jo.
8:36) has survived.

3. W.J. Miller and H.E. Butler, The Letters of John of
Salisbury (1955, London), i. 51.

4. Smalley, Becket Conflict, p. 114.

5. Ibid., the phrase is Dr. Smalley's.

nature of Gebuin's borrowing from Bernard. He insists that Gebuin must have used the notes he took when listening to Bernard for the writing of his own sermons. Yet at the same time he admits that the Bernardine influence is less than one might expect and certainly less than that exerted on his monastic secretaries and disciples:

Les sermons de Gebouin. . . sont vraiment des sermons de Gebouin dans lesquels subsistent quelques éléments émanés de l'enseignement de S. Bernard. Mais le style, le plan, le vocabulaire et les idées sont fondamentalement différents de ceux, non seulement de Bernard, mais de l'ensemble des moines qui, en son siècle, ont écrit sous l'influence de celui-ci.¹

The nature of Bernard's influence and the extraordinary manner in which Gebuin developed the schematic 'distinctions' found in Bernard's sententiae and sermons de diversis may best be illustrated by a study of one of Gebuin's sermons on the thema 'Jacob took a stone and set it up as a pillar' (Gen. 31:45). It has been edited below as an illustrative text.

Sources for parts of the sermon can be identified. Gebuin did not, apparently, use the Glossa Ordinaria nor patristic or Carolingian commentaries. His principal source was Bernard. Leclercq draws some parallels between the sermon and Bernard's preaching². Some of these parallels are rather unconvincing (for example Bernard's discussions of the four temptations of the Church in sermon 33 on the Song of Songs and in a sententia edited by Leclercq compared

1. Leclercq, 'Gebouin', p. 91.

2. Ibid., pp. 86-89.

with ll. 21-27 of Gebuin's sermon¹). Others, however, show a more direct connexion. Thus the Bernardine sententia 'Quater luctatus est Jacob; in utero cum Essau, in adolescentia cum eodem, in Mesopotamia cum Laban, in Bethel cum angelo'² is virtually word for word ll.10-13.

More important in our context than the extent of Gebuin's borrowing from Bernard is the extraordinarily methodical structure of the sermon itself. Stylistically his sermons are quite different from Bernard's³. In this case Gebuin began by identifying four battles during the course of Jacob's life which correspond to the four surfaces of the stone of the thema. Jacob's four battles demonstrate four human virtues. The stone is Christ. Each of its four surfaces bears an inscription which may in turn be divided into four elements corresponding to the four corners of each surface. By considering each surface in turn Gebuin discusses the four-fold immanence of Christ, the four virtues through which God works in man, the four stages of penance, and the inter-relation of God, spirit, flesh and the world.

The predominant impression given by this sermon is one of a tightly organised and integrated structure. The initial distinction of the thema structures the entire sermon. Subsequent paragraphs of the sermon discuss and subdivide each member of this 'distinction' in turn. The paragraphs themselves are laid out in a parallel manner. First the inscription of the surface in question is quoted, then its

1. J. Leclercq, 'Etudes sur S. Bernard et le Texte de ses Ecrits', Analec. Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 9 (1953), fasc. 1-2, p. 134.

2. Opera S. Bernardi (ed. Leclercq), vi-2. p. 43, n. 94.

3. To Leclercq's evident distress, 'Gebouin', p. 91.

four elements are identified, finally elements are further defined and described. All these processes are couched in a rhythmical rhyming language. At the end of the last three paragraphs of the sermon Gebuin quotes almost ~~as~~ a closing refrain a verse of Genesis¹. This apart, biblical quotation in support of the 'distinction' and its subdivisions is sporadic.

This is not a scholastic sermon of the Paris type. Probably Gebuin preached as chantor to the secular canons of Troyes cathedral². His sermons were certainly delivered in an intellectual environment less vigorous than that inhabited by the Paris masters. They lack the didactic and exhortatory urgency of those of Peter Comestor and Alan of Lille.

However it is possible that Gebuin influenced Peter Comestor. Comestor probably attended the cathedral school of Troyes³ and he might well have heard Gebuin preach. Since they are the earliest preachers to use 'distinction' to structure a sermon it is conceivable that the one copied

1. Other sermons by Gebuin use the same technique. See, for example the use of the verse 'Ecce igitur alter Johannes quia gratia Dei vere in eo est. . .' in the sermon '"Johannes clamabat: Penitentiam agite. . ."' Grave iugum. . .'
MS. B.N. 14937, ff. 105vb-107va.

2. Smalley, Becket Conflict, p. 114. It should be noted that the passages addressed to regular canons that are quoted by Leclercq, 'Gebouin', pp. 91-3, are taken from a sermon that should be attributed to Comestor (no. 58) not to Gebuin.

3. Daly, 'Peter Comestor, Master of Histories', p. 63.

from the other. Of course Comestor's later instruction by Peter Lombard and his own immersion in the methods of the schools may provide an adequate explanation in itself of his preaching style. I have found no direct evidence of borrowing by Comestor from Gebuin and in other respects the sermons of the two preachers are quite different. Nevertheless, the fact of the early and occasional structural use of 'distinction' by two preachers who must surely have known each other at Troyes should not be dismissed as a coincidence too lightly¹.

Not all of Gebuin's sermons are constructed in this manner, any more than are all of Comestor's.² Most indeed follow the conventional forms of the period. Nevertheless, Gebuin's development of a style of preaching, parallel but prior to, and independently of, the Paris schools indicates the particular and intermittent manner in which, even before 1160, the thirteenth century practice of building the scholastic sermon from an initial 'distinction' and subsequent subdivision of the thema had been anticipated.

(v) Stephen Langton and Prevostin

The origins and early development of the thirteenth century scholastic sermon may thus be clearly traced in the preaching of the twelfth. As the twelfth century progressed the Paris secular masters gradually introduced innovations and

1. They both appear as witnesses to a charter in 1150, Lalore, Cartulaires de Troyes, vi. 53.

2. Another sermon structured around 'distinctions' is printed by Hauréau, Notices, iii. 155-9.

fashioned a sermon form that became the common tool of the thirteenth century mendicants.

However, a close study of twelfth century preaching in isolation reveals indications that should mitigate against the excessively teleological view that a more general survey may tend to produce. There was nothing inevitable about the emergence of the scholastic sermon. Peter of Poitiers, despite the predominant role taken by 'distinction' in his preaching, warned that for purposes of moral instruction its use might be counter-productive¹. Maurice of Sully, a master of theology before he became bishop of Paris, completely abandoned scholastic exegetical techniques and structural devices when preaching. Alan of Lille, when he came to compose new pieces for his Liber Sermonum, reverted to simple homilectic forms.

The phenomenon cannot simply be explained by the fact that both Alan and Maurice envisaged a different sort of audience, lay rather than clerical, for their preaching. In the twelfth century the homily remained a genuine alternative to the scholastic sermon. Its influence is clearly traceable in the essentially scholastic mid-century preaching of Peter Comestor. At the end of the century the sermons of Stephen Langton, Prevostin and indeed the early thirteenth century

1. 'Aliqua verba, fratres, per distinctionis modos et sub distinctiones locutus sum et hoc quidem genus dicendi mentem quandoque plurimum delectat sed non ita auditores edificat. Nunc, vero, cum gloriosi martyris Vincentum passionem retulimus morum edificationi quam verborum concertationi studentum est'. Ser. 'Secundum multitudinem dolorum. . .' MS. B.N. 14593, f. 303a.

preaching of Philip the Chancellor, all delivered in a university environment, serve as a salutary reminder that the triumph of the scholastic sermon was not yet assured.

Throughout the course of this and the preceding chapter caveats have repeatedly been entered, as they will be again in the chapter following, to take account of Langton's individual style of preaching. Langton was one of the first preachers to use exempla and a prothema. His use and selection of the thema set him apart from other Paris masters as did the infrequency with which he imposed division upon, and 'distinguished' biblical usages and symbolic interpretations of, his texts. We shall see too, in the following chapter, that his material carries nuances that distinguished it from that of his contemporaries and his predecessors.

Structurally the most striking aspect of both Langton's and Prevostin's sermons is the relative restraint of division and 'distinction'. In the Paris university sermon cycle delivered during the year 1230/1 R. and M. Rouse noted an unexpected diminution in the use of 'distinction' also. They attributed it to the fact that a single 'distinction' of the thema instead of an initial division followed by successive 'distinctions' of the members of the division structured the sermon¹. Langton and Prevostin do not use 'distinction' in this way and the comparative lack of 'distinction' in their sermons is the consequence of the quite separate and apparently conscious intention to reduce the amount of scholastic apparatus in the sermon. Generally

1. Manipulus Florum, p. 75.

Langton used 'distinction' only as a means of discussing and defining a particular idea within the body of the sermon.

'Distinction' rarely dominated his sermons, many indeed made no use of it at all.

Having chosen to set aside 'distinction' both as an exegetical technique and as a structural device Langton and Prevostin had to turn to other principles of sermon construction, of which the most obvious and accessible was the homily. In some cases the texts at the head of sermons by Langton and Prevostin function in part as scholastic thema and in part as the beginning of longer passages to be treated in homiletic fashion. The text is at once subject to close exegetical analysis and symbolic interpretation while at the same time serving to introduce a sustained narrative that will in turn be interpreted in a manner consistent either anecdotally or thematically with the initially identified symbolism.

Thus one of Langton's sermons takes as its subject the story of Christ's healing of the two blind beggars on the road to Jericho (Math. 20:29-34)¹. The verse quoted at the head of the sermon is not a scholastic thema but simply the first stage of the story with which Langton intended to deal and which was, in fact, the pericope of the day. Subsequent stages were introduced progressively throughout the sermon. The episode as a whole was interpreted tropologically by Langton as a description of the process of penance. The narrative details provided by successive stages in the gospel

1. Ser. 82b, MS. B.N. 16463, ff. 92vb-94va.

account served, symbolically interpreted, to define further the theory and practice of penance and to set it in its religious context. Thus, though the sermon was structured round the homiletic treatment of a complete biblical story the effect of the symbolic reading of the text was to transform the essentially narrative nature of the homily into the much more scholastic treatment of a subject of practical theology.

Langton's sermon on the Palm Sunday pericope treated its subject in the same way. In place of the paraphrase and brief explanation of the passage followed by a religious exhortation that constituted the basic homily, Langton interpreted every detail of the biblical account of Christ's entry into Jerusalem (Math. 21:1ff) as the return of the repentant christian to the Church¹. The detail and the consistency of the symbolism set Langton apart from the perfunctory interpretation of the homily on the one hand and from the multiple and sometimes confused exegesis of the scholastic preachers on the other.

Prevostin treated the same passage in an identical manner but in a different context and therefore at an entirely separate symbolic level. Indeed, comparison of the approaches of the two preachers illustrates well the manner in which scholastic exegesis could draw from a single biblical passage alternative symbolic meanings appropriate to different liturgical contexts, audiences and branches of religious teaching. Prevostin began his exegesis by remarking that

1. Ser. 51b, MS. B.N. 16463, ff. 33a-35vb.

since literally and historically the narrative described Christ's entry into Jerusalem it was read in some churches, and should properly be the subject of a sermon, on Palm Sunday. However, since the passage could be interpreted allegorically as an account of the Advent of Christ (whereas Langton had chosen the tropological mode) it was perfectly fitting that it should be read and that he should preach on it at the beginning of Advent¹. Prevostin, like Langton, then proceeded through the passage interpreting its narrative detail so as to explain and expound its deeper symbolic meaning, in this case the Advent of Christ. The wealth of biblical quotation adduced to support and illustrate the symbolism, however, tended at times to usurp the subject-matter itself. Parts of the sermon read virtually as strings of biblical authorities that constitute, define and develop the mercurial imagery². Such enumeration of biblical

1. 'In principio adventus Dei institutione ecclesiae in pluribus ecclesiis hoc evangelium legitur, licet in ramis palmarum legatur. Sed tunc legitur ad memoriam historiae. In principio adventus legitur ut requaeramus spirituales intelligentiam'. Ser. 'Cum appropinquasset Jesus. . .', MS. B.M. Add. 18835, f. 11.

2. For example the uninterrupted flow of imagery and quotation that begins with Bethphage and results in its identification as a symbol of the Virgin: 'Hoc igitur tempore illius civitatis aedificationi appropinquavit in quo se lapidem fecit, "in quo omnis aedificatio constructa crescit in templum sanctum in Domino" (Ep. 2:21). Hoc autem fecit quando Bethsagae, id est domus oris, scilicet oris patris celestis illius, scilicet oris de quo dictum est "verbo Domini consolati sunt fratres" (cf. Act. 15:32). Verbum patris idem est quod os patris, scilicet sapientia patris, hoc est illum os de quo ipsa dicit in Canticum Canticorum (1:1) "osculabatur me osculo oris sui", id est "osculatur me osculo oris sui", quod est "ecce ancilla Domini fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum" (Luc. 1:38), quasi dicat "O tu, angelus Dei, tu promittis mihi quod magna faciet mihi Dominus tuus qui presens est. Iam igitur

quotation became common in the preaching of the first half of the thirteenth century and bears witness to one unfortunate consequence of the gradual availability of biblical indices and concordances¹.

Neither Prevostin nor Langton used a homiletic structure in all their sermons. Some of these are much closer to the preaching of other Paris masters and treat a thema in the more conventional scholastic manner. They too used the current exegetical techniques and made use of the common-places of scholastic theology. To insist on the differences that separate the preaching of Langton and Prevostin from that of their Paris contemporaries and predecessors is not to set them beyond the confines of scholastic culture but rather to demonstrate the room for manoeuvre and the flexibility of response that could still be encompassed within it.

(vi) The Theory of Preaching

The distance travelled by that mainstream scholastic culture and its characteristic style of preaching may be measured by the production, at the end of the twelfth century, of the first genuinely theoretical treatises on the art of preaching. They must be regarded as indicators rather than as causes of the development of the scholastic sermon in

2 (contd.) osculetur me pater ille celestis osculo oris sui. In osculo duo coniunguntur ora et ipse deitatem oris sui, id est filii humanitati de me et in me sumpta, coniungat in una persona". Beata ergo Virgo est Bethsage, id est domus oris . . . ' Ibid., f. 11v.

1. R. and R. Rouse, op.cit., p. 74.

the twelfth century, if for no other reason than the obvious chronological point that they cannot be held responsible for a development that they postdate. More fundamentally, it has been repeatedly emphasised throughout this thesis that the emergence of the scholastic sermon was a pragmatic exploitation and development of existing scholastic forms to serve a reanimated and re-orientating christian ministry rather than an attempt to put into practice abstract canons of rhetorical theory.

Nevertheless, by the end of the century scholars evidently considered that a preacher needed some grounding in the theoretical principles of sermon construction if he was to preach efficiently. The scholastic processes that replaced the narrative of the homily had to be codified and explained to those who had little experience of them. Thus both Alan of Lille and Alexander of Ashby followed their preaching treatises with model sermons intended to illustrate the preceding theoretical exposition. In Alan's case, indeed, these model sermons form the bulk of the treatise. Collections of model sermons could serve the same purpose as the artes praedicandi but in a more practical manner. Instead of first mastering the theoretical principles of preaching and then constructing his own sermons the preacher could use directly, or with minor adjustments, those provided by the model collections. In the thirteenth century such collections may ultimately have been more widely used and influential than the artes praedicandi. Comestor's standard collection may be one early such example.

Artes praedicandi and sermon collections, together with other reference material, indices and concordances, were part of the growing body of preaching aids that became available to the preacher from the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards. They bear witness to one aspect of the movement to reform and reanimate the clergy and to change the nature of the relationship between the Church and lay society in the same way as do the contemporary production of liturgical and penitential handbooks, often by the same author, to others.

The early twelfth century produced some works for preachers, notably Honorius of Autun's Speculum Ecclesiae and Guibert of Nogent's Liber Quo Ordine Sermo Fieri Debeat. Both were products of a monastic environment and neither dealt with a specifically scholastic form of sermon. The Speculum Ecclesiae is really a collection of model homilies, or perhaps rather of model homiletic paragraphs to be put together to form sermons, organised in roughly liturgical sequence and including material directed at specific social groups. Apart from the occasional instruction between these paragraphs such as 'quote the biblical text in latin first, then paraphrase it in the vernacular'¹, there is no theoretical discussion of preaching.

Guibert's Liber Quo Ordine Sermo Fieri Debeat was intended as a preface to his commentary on Genesis. Its subject, therefore, is primarily exegesis. The discussion is

1. 'Ad omnes sermones debes primum verum in latina lingua pronunciare, dein patria lingua explanare'. P.L. 172:829.

largely theoretical and deals in particular with the theory of biblical symbolism and the symbolic exposition of the biblical text. The sermon is treated essentially as one form of biblical exegesis. Guibert insisted particularly on the importance of proper religious and moral motivation on the part of the preacher. He advised his preachers to vary the standard homilies on the pericope, so as to retain the attention of educated as well as uneducated audiences, and to prefer tropological to allegorical interpretations of their texts¹.

The first theoretical discussion of the principles of sermon construction was contained in the opening sections of Alan of Lille's De Arte Praedicandi. There he touched on most of the points that were to be treated at much greater length in the fully theoretical artes praedicandi of the thirteenth century. He did so essentially by expounding his oft-quoted definition of preaching as 'open and public instruction in morals and faith for the edification of man, drawn from the seed of reason and the fount of authority'². He briefly counselled his preachers on the language in which their sermons should be couched in order to avoid dullness on the one hand and excessive rhetoric on the other. He indicated the best sources in which to find themae suitable for moral preaching (the gospels, psalms, epistles and books of Solomon) and explained that the preacher's

1. P.L. 156:25B-30C.

2. 'Praedicatio est manifesta et publica instructio morum et fidei informationi hominum deserviens ex rationum semita et auctoritatum fonte proveniens', P.L. 210:111C.

comportment was as important as his language in delivering a sermon, which should itself be tailored to the intellectual capacities of its audience. Alan gave some indication as to the use of authority. It should, he said, be neither too complex nor too obscure and where appropriate might be drawn from pagan writing. He warned his preachers against excessive play on their audiences' emotions and finally recommended the use of exempla to illustrate the substance of the sermon. Throughout there was a certain tendency to contrast the openness and orthodoxy of the christian preacher with the surreptitious and malicious preaching of the heretics¹.

The model sermons that constitute the bulk of Alan's De Arte Praedicandi are equally significant from the theoretical point of view for they were clearly intended as illustrations of the specifically scholastic form of sermon. Moreover they present the merest outline of a sermon. For practical purposes the preacher would have had to extemporise considerably or perhaps run several such model sermons together. As outlines, however, they demonstrate, sometimes more clearly than the full scholastic sermons themselves, the structural role played by 'distinction' of various meanings of a thema in scholastic preaching. Thus Alan began the model sermon on the subject of vanity by suggesting appropriate themae to his prospective preachers:

If a preacher wishes to lead his audience to contempt for the world he should offer them this text: "Vanity of vanities and all is vanity".²

1. P.L. 210:111-114.

2. 'Si praedicator vult invitare auditores ad mundi contemptum, in medium hanc afferat auctoritatem: "Vanitas vanitatum et

Once having selected the thema the next stage was to divide it by 'distinction':

In this text he should distinguish three worldly vanities; the vanity of interest in ephemeral things, of curiosity and of untruth.¹

In order to demonstrate the validity of the concepts thus defined each had to be supported by an authority, whether biblical or classical:

Thus the preacher should reinforce with authority each member that he has identified, otherwise all division is inconclusive and imprecise.²

Here the interplay between theoretical instruction and practical illustration is apparent. Alan went on to complete the sermon with a discussion of worldly vanity and its opposite, the truth of God.

These model sermons, though couched in a particular form, were intended primarily to provide the clergy with suitable preaching material. The vast bulk of Alan's treatise dealt with the substance of what the preacher was to deliver rather than the form in which he was to deliver it. It was only the artes praedicandi of Alexander of Ashby (c. 1200) and Thomas Chobham (c. 1210) that provided the first fully theoretical analysis of the principles of sermon construction.

Alexander's work is clear and concise. He defined four parts of a sermon; the prologue, the division, the

1. 'Juxta hanc auctoritatem debet distinguere triplicem mundi vanitatem. Est enim vanitas mutabilitatis, vanitas curiositatis et vanitas falsitatis'. Ibid.

2. 'Sic praedicator omnem divisionem quam proponit auctoritatibus debet roborare, aliter tota divisio nutans est et lubrica'. Ibid., c. 116C.

confirmation and the conclusion. A good sermon, he explained should start, in the manner of the classical rhetoricians, with a prologue that would serve to settle the audience and to introduce the subject. Then the preacher should proceed to the division of the thema which would have been quoted at the head of the sermon. In general two or three divisions would suffice. More might confuse the audience. However, when preaching to a scholarly audience more divisions and indeed subdivisions might be appropriate. Then followed confirmation of these divisions by authority¹. Alexander made much the same points as Alan in this respect. Authority should be used sparingly and with a view to the capacities of the audience. Exempla should be used to illustrate the divisions for the benefit of the uneducated and Alexander insisted that a preacher was duty bound to praise an audience's virtue no less than to criticise its vices. The conclusion was to consist of a recapitulation, an exhortation and warning to the audience playing on threats of the pains

1. Quatuor autem sunt sermonis partes; prologus, divisio, confirmatio, conclusio. Proponatur ergo auctoritas quae sit sermonis totius materia. Deinde fiat brevis prologus in quo reddantur auditores dociles, benivoli et attenti sicut docuimus. De prologo descendatur ad materiam dicendorum quae statim comprehendatur sub certo numero vel divisione bimembri trimembri vel paulo maiori. Membrorum enim multitudo docilitatem impedit. Quando tamen sit sermo ad eruditos potest multa habere membra, divisiones vel subdivisiones. Sequatur confirmatio in qua singula membra divisionis confirmantur auctoritatibus ut rationibus et probentur esse bona si bona sunt et mala si mala sunt'. MS. Cambridge Univ. Ii-I-24, p. 332a.

of hell and promises of heaven and, finally, a prayer.

Alexander's treatise was thus essentially an analysis of the principal features of contemporary scholastic preaching designed to explain to prospective preachers how to construct a convincing and effective sermon. Thomas Chobham's work, though differing on points of detail with Alexander's and composed on an altogether larger scale, was of the same order. Thomas defined six parts of the sermon (instead of Alexander's four) and in particular was much fuller than Alexander on the different methods of dividing a thema and of developing the divisions. His treatise, indeed, has been described as 'the complete theory of the "thematic" or "university" sermon'¹.

Both these authors took as their starting point, therefore, an existing sermon form. Their works rest on the assumption that an effective and accepted form of preaching existed and that it corresponded more or less to the scholastic sermon as we have seen it develop during the course of the twelfth century. By analysing this form of preaching the authors intended to teach future preachers how to use it. The ars praedicandi was thus a theoretical **work with a practical pedagogic function, a work of theory that described an existing practice.** Yet at the same time both Alexander and Thomas, as theorists, were conscious of working within a tradition of rhetoric that went back to classical theory and that is apparent in many aspects of

1. J.J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages (California, 1974), p. 325.

scholastic culture. Consequently, both made efforts to present the practices of medieval preaching in the context of the canons of Ciceronian rhetoric. Alexander of Ashby's treatment of division, for example, appears to have owed a great deal to the classical concept of partitio, though his view of the relationship between division and proof reflected medieval practice rather than classical theory¹. Similarly, Thomas Chobham was careful to explain rhetorical terminology, to compare the five parts of rhetoric with the six parts of the sermon and to draw constant parallels between the rhetorical canons of the two worlds².

Thus, in one sense, the artes praedicandi effected a fusion between the practical results of a contemporary scholastic movement on the one hand and an intellectual continuum of ancient rhetorical theory on the other. That such a fusion was possible was ultimately a consequence of the whole relationship between medieval christian culture and the classical culture to which it constantly and ambivalently looked back. Preachers may not consciously have sought to develop a sermon form that obeyed abstract principles of classical rhetoric but subliminally they cannot help but have been influenced by those principles and by those who were themselves influenced by them. Rhetoric formed part of the classical learning that impregnated medieval culture at every level and that was absorbed not only by direct study but also as it appeared in the immensely influential writings

1. Murphy, op.cit., pp. 315-6.

2. Ibid., pp. 321-5.

of the fathers and their imitators.

Perhaps the most striking manifestation of this influence is the exploitation of the sonority of the language, the use of rhyme and rhythm and the search for linguistic parallelism and verbal concordance that is such a feature of scholastic preaching and that in some cases seems to define the form of the sermon itself. This style of writing was probably influenced by the rheimprosa of the fathers, itself ultimately dependent on the theory and practice of classical rhetoric¹. Nor was it restricted to the sermon for it was a process of composition that is found in a variety of contemporary literary forms and that permeated the whole culture.

Rhetoric was one of the three primary skills of language that formed the basis of the medieval schools curriculum. In that context it was, however, a theoretical rather than a vocational subject, considerably less important than grammar and logic, its companion subjects. Its textbooks were works of rhetorical theory such as Cicero's De Inventione and the pseudo-Ciceronian Rhetorica ad Herennium, not examples of the art in practice². Still, schoolboys and students tried their hand at compositions in different rhetorical modes, and the medieval scholar and various elements of medieval

1. K. Polheim, Die Lateinische Rheimprosa (Berlin, 1925), pp. 383-9. For use of the sound of language in rhetoric see Arbuzov, Colores Rhetorici, pp. 74-9.

2. G.R. Evans, Old Arts and New Theology (Oxford, 1980), pp. 52-3.

culture were marked by the canons of classical rhetoric¹. From these the theorist could adapt and select so as to account for the essential characteristics of the scholastic sermon. Whether the resulting artes praedicandi had any direct influence on the development of the sermon itself must remain an open question. However, to a culture that was in the process of re-examining and redefining its methodological procedures they provided a theoretical basis for its preaching. They established a distinctive identity, purpose and methodology for the sermon that, in a rarefied form, signalled the achievements of the twelfth century and served as a point of reference for the pragmatic developments of the thirteenth.

1. P. Riché, Ecoles et Enseignement dans le Haut Moyen-Age (Paris, 1979), pp. 254-8.

Chapter 5. The Substance of the Sermon

(i) Instruction

Preaching, Alan of Lille had said, was instruction in morals and faith. Instruction, that is, in the manner in which the christian was to behave and in the doctrines to which he was to adhere. There was an obvious theological link between the two. The latter dictated the former. Instruction in both was drawn from symbolic exegesis of the bible, tropology and allegory respectively. What characterised moral behaviour as essentially religious was its foundation in specifically christian doctrine. Instruction in faith was thus both an end in itself and a necessary basis for, and stimulus to, christian action¹.

Preaching was a means of publicising and making effective the achievements of contemporary theological research. During the twelfth century the sermon developed as an instrument of doctrinal instruction, associated in particular with that branch of scholastic teaching that dealt with christian morality and the behaviour of man. In the contemporary Paris schools the gradual redefinition of a new christian morality that placed particular emphasis on the moral consciousness of the individual and on his constant responsibility for the state of his soul had been built upon a new theology of sin and penance and a new conception of the

1. 'Attendite diligenter qui sermones Dei audistis ut fidei mysterium mente percipiatis atque operibus condignis exsequamini'. Lombard, ser. 1, P.L. 171:374B.

nature of a sacrament. These intellectual foundations were largely absent from the sermon literature. Preachers were primarily concerned to present the results of recent scholastic work without unduly going into the processes by which they had been achieved nor the finer points of debate which had accompanied them. The instruction of the sermon was designed to teach doctrine and not to open the way to contradiction, dispute and doubt.

Instead, preachers dealt particularly in their sermons with expositions of vices and virtues, as defined by recent theology, and established the sacrament of penance as the mechanism by which the individual was repeatedly assessed and corrected and so kept on the path that led ultimately through the sacraments of the Church to God. The sermon, therefore, was not only a scholastic instrument, a means of academic expression, it was also part of the movement of ecclesiastical reform that gave to the whole scholastic process its religious momentum. The material delivered by the Paris preachers was intended to direct the entire life of man (initially cleric, but ultimately lay also) in a manner distinctively christian (though no longer necessarily monastic) by changing the relationship between the Church and its subjects from one of intermittent contact on formal liturgical occasions to one of constant and comprehensive guidance. The development of the sermon as a means of instructing the Christian and raising the individual consciousness must be seen as part of a movement that had expression also in works of practical theology, in a new form of penitential handbook and ultimately

in the obligation placed upon each individual by the fourth Lateran council to confess at least once a year¹.

Instruction in matters of faith was equally part of this process of forming an obedient christian body. To some extent concentration on doctrinal teaching in the sermon was replaced by more expansive and detailed moral instruction as the century progressed, though to see this as a straight-forward chronological development would be something of an over-simplification. The intellectual complexity and overall balance of the sermon depended also on the particular interests of individual preachers. Certainly, there was more technical doctrinal teaching in the sermons of Lombard especially, and Comestor, than in the late twelfth century preaching of Stephen Langton and Prevostin, but Peter of Poitiers and Alan of Lille dealt with these same theological issues in a thorough and scholastic manner. On the other hand, the special concern with penance and religious morality that characterises twelfth century preaching is already apparent in the sermons of Lombard and Comestor. The striking chronological development was not in the selection of material to be preached but, as we have seen, in its treatment and organisation.

The nature of the material to be delivered was defined to some extent by the liturgical context. Whereas the masters tended to concentrate on religious morality in their Lenten

1. C. 21. ed. Mansi, op.cit., xxii. 1010A.

preaching, Advent inevitably provoked a certain amount of theological discussion. Advent sermons by all the masters dealt with doctrines, such as the Incarnation and virgin birth of Christ, absolutely central to the faith. The intellectual level at which such material was pitched varied from the elementary recapitulation of central doctrines to the relatively complex discussion of technical detail. Often such changes may be observed in different sermons on the same subject by a single preacher and in some cases the reason seems to be a deliberate attempt to deal with a specific point or to meet the interests, or capacities, of a particular audience. Thus one Advent sermon delivered by Alan of Lille to a religious community consisted almost entirely of moral instruction on the theme of the need of the individual to escape the vices of earth and body and to raise his soul on virtues in order to cross the gulf of vices that separates man from God¹. On the other hand another Advent sermon by the same preacher delivered on the thema 'The word became flesh. . .' (Jo. 1:14) included some extremely academic 'distinctions' that defined the nature of the word and the grace of God².

The sort of modifications that Alan introduced in order to accommodate different audiences may be seen by comparing two versions of a sermon delivered on the thema 'At the end of 8 days when he was circumcised he was called Jesus. . .' (Lu. 2:21) for the circumcision of Christ. One version of

1. Ser. 'Ad te levavi. . .' MS. B.N. 14859, ff. 240b-241b.

2. Ser. 'Verbum caro factum est. . .' MS. B.N. 3818, ff. 9v-12.

the sermon is included in the Liber Sermonum and was intended by Alan to be preached by the local clergy to their lay congregations. The other was delivered by Alan himself, probably, as were most of his sermons, to a scholarly audience¹. Both sermons are essentially homiletic in structure (that is they discuss successive verses of the pericope) and both deal with two aspects of Christ's circumcision; his circumcision as a sacrament (in the scholarly version Alan actually calls it such²), a plenitude of grace and a fulfilment of the old law, and secondly as a physical act to be emulated symbolically by the spiritual circumcision of man from sin. The scholarly version is naturally more complex than the popular. It makes distinctions and pursues arguments that are not developed in the popular version. It describes the excesses and insufficiencies of man, acquired not from God but from his place in the world, whose nature, therefore, inherently requires circumcision³. In the same sermon Alan presented all the sacraments as forms of circumcision. Baptism he described as circumcision from the stain of sin, confirmation as circumcision from ignorance, the eucharist

1. The scholarly version is in MS. B.N. 3818, ff. 18-19. The popular version is the eighth of the sermons of the Liber Sermonum, MS. B.N. Nov. Acq. 335, ff. 91-93.

2. 'O mirabile circumcisionis sacramentum'. MS. B.N. 3818, f. 18v.

3. 'Omnis autem creatura in quantum a Deo est nihil superflui nihil diminuti habet. Facto autem respectu ad fluxum generationis et initium creationis quaelibet creatura aliquid habet superflui vel diminuti etsi non actu tamen a bilitate originis. Et sic omnis creatura a superfluo vel diminuto circumcisa, et ita a creationis initio initium habet circumcisio'. F. 18v.

as circumcision from the guilt of venial sin and so forth¹.

The sermon is thus a typically scholastic attempt to explore all the possible meanings of the concept of circumcision.

The difference in approach of the two sermons may be illustrated by their respective commentaries on the phrase 'he was called Jesus'; on the one hand a simple account of Christ's working as a saviour throughout the episodes of the Old Testament, on the other hand a complex explanation of the name in the context of the hypostatic union:

"His name was called Jesus". To whom is this name "Jesus" more fitting than to our saviour, both according to his divine and to his human nature ? He saved Noah from the flood. He released Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees. He protected Jacob from the plots of his brother. He seized Joseph from the hands of his brothers. By his human nature he freed us from servitude to the devil, from servitude to the world and from servitude to sin.²

"His name was called Jesus". Some names are appropriate to Jesus according to his divinity, some according to his humanity. According to his divinity some names are fitting by virtue

1. 'Quid ergo est baptismus nisi circumcisio a peccati labe ? Quid confirmatio nisi circumcisio a mentis imbecillitate ? Quid eucharistia nisi circumcisio a veniali culpa ?' ibid.
 2. '"Vocatum est nomen eius Jesus". Cui specialius competit hoc nomen "Jesus" quam salvatori nostro et secundum divinam et secundum humanam naturam ? Ipse enim Noe a diluvio salvavit. Ipse Abraham ab Ur Caldeorum liberavit. Ipse Jacob contra fratris insidias protexit. Ipse Joseph a manibus fratrum eripuit. Secundum humanam naturam liberavit nos a servitute diaboli, a servitute mundi, a servitute peccati'. MS. B.N. Nov. Acq. Lat. 335, f. 92v.

of his nature, others by virtue of his person, such as "God", "Creator" or "Lord". By virtue of his person this name "Jesus" which is the correct name for Christ as person. According to his human nature the name "Christ" or "Messiah" is appropriate. This name "Christ" was a further name for him given by virtue of the fact that he was anointed in time with a plenitude of grace.¹

Alan's concern to minimise the level of technical instruction in the popular sermon, to multiply the illustrative examples and to hammer home a general christian doctrine in the simplest terms rather than raising complexities of terminology and definition seems apparent.

An underlying motivation behind this concern to instruct the faithful in matters of doctrine was evidently the desire to protect and warn them from rival alternative teaching. The masters were only peripherally concerned with organised contemporary heretical movements as such, for it was not these, on the whole, that threatened their scholastic audiences. Alan of Lille, who made an important contribution to the anti-Cathar polemic after his departure from Paris, made only the occasional reference to heretical doctrine in

1. 'Vocatum est nomen eius Jesus'. Quaedam nomina conveniunt Jesu secundum divinitatem, quaedam secundum humanitatem. Secundum divinitatem, vero, quaedam conveniunt ei gratia naturae, quaedam gratia personae, ut hoc nomen "Deus", hoc nomen "Creator", hoc nomen "Dominus". Gratia, vero, personae hoc nomen "Jesus", quod est Christi proprium nomen, datum a statu personali. Gratia, vero, humanae naturae hoc nomen "Christus", hoc nomen "Messias" convenit ei. Hoc autem nomen Christus fuit (f. 19) ei agnomen quia ab eventu datum quia in tempore unctus plenitudine gratiarum'. MS. B.N. 3818, f.18v.

his Paris preaching. The masters' sermons were not polemical. They were designed essentially to instruct their audiences, not to convert them or win them over from alien intellectual or religious principles. They were more concerned with scepticism and methodological controversy at the intellectual level and with genuine error and ignorance lower down than with organised heresy as such.

Thus, for example, when Lombard, in a sermon for the Annunciation, recapitulated the principal doctrines concerning the purification of the Virgin he specifically warned his audience against the heretical view that the holy spirit simply fulfilled the functions of human semen rather than purifying her of original sin and preparing her for reception of the divine power¹. He went on to brush aside the objections of those who denied that the Virgin could have been purified in this way and both conceived and given birth while retaining her virginity². If God could create Adam in Eden without

1. 'Non est arbitrandum, secundum quosdam haereticos, Spiritum sanctum in Virgine seminis vicem exhibuisse; sed mentem ipsius ita a sorde vitiorum castificavit, et divini amoris dulcedine replevit, ut coelesti digna fieret partu, et de eius immaculata carne sibi virtus Altissimi hospitium coeleste in virginali thalamo fabricaret'. Ser. 18. P.L. 171: 607B.

2. 'Sicut ergo omni corruptione caret iste conceptus, ita, etsi haeretici aliter garriant, in conceptu et partu integer exstitit et intemeratus Virginis uterus'. P.L. 171: 607C.

human participation, Lombard explained, he could similarly create in women without the intervention of man¹.

Hilduin, in a sermon preserved only in the Cambridge manuscript, provided his audience with the orthodox definition of the Trinity while in the process warning them against the heretical formulations not only of such traditional patristic adversaries as Arius but also of his near-contemporary Gilbert Porreta².

Error in doctrine was often a product of error in method. Comestor, as we have seen, felt obliged to defend the validity of literal exegesis of the bible. Research in the literal sense of the bible was conducted in collaboration with, and recognition of, jewish scholarship³. The Jews, however, were a dangerous ally. They regarded the literal sense as the only meaning of the biblical text, not, as did the christians, as the foundation of a superior symbolic sense. They considered spurious christian allegory of the Old Testament and denied entirely the revelation contained in the New. The messiah had not been manifest in Christ, he had yet to appear. Nor had the Mosaic law yet been abrogated

1. 'Cur, igitur, negat infidelitas Deum hominem non posse sine viro facere de femina, qui primum hominem nec de viro nec de femina fecit ?' P.L. 171:609A.

2. '... tertia est magistrorum scolarium theologorum ut credant et doceant proprietates esse in Deo, divinam essentiam in personis esse ad distinguendum. Aliter enim sapere, aliter credere, aliter docere istas proprietates heresim sapit iam dampnatam maxime in persona G. Porrethani et in eius sequentibus. . . .' Ser. 'Vias tuas. . .', MS. Cantab. Univ. Ii-I-24, p. 260b.

3. A. Grabois, 'The Hebraica Veritas and Jewish-Christian Intellectual Relations in the Twelfth Century', Speculum, 50 (1975), 613-34.

or fulfilled, it remained still binding. As a result the masters, though they benefited from jewish exegesis, warned their audiences against the blindness, stupidity and obstinacy of those who refused to see beyond the literal sense¹. It was not, on the whole, as murderers of Christ that the masters presented the Jews but as rival professional exegetes. The jewish people whose history the bible related could be explained by allegory or tropology. It was the contemporary jewish scholar who posed a threat.

Use of the 'liberal arts' posed exactly the same methodological danger. It was a perennial problem of christian scholarship. The christian scholar turned to classical culture with ambivalent feelings of admiration and mistrust. A grounding in the traditional classical disciplines, especially in grammar and logic, was, as we have seen, indispensable to a proper understanding of the bible. A twelfth century student would necessarily have had a preliminary education in these disciplines before moving on (if indeed he did move on) to advanced study in theology. However, in so far as classical concepts of language and science tended, at the highest level, to challenge the credibility of the doctrines of the faith these too were dangerous weapons. Lombard for example, ridiculed the folly of those who believed only what was consistent with natural phenomena and who denied the power of God to set aside the rules governing nature². Only faith, he asserted,

1. Lombard, ser. 23, P.L. 171:561B.

2. '... qui nihil aestimant possibile nisi quod in naturis cernitur, apud quos [viz. judeos et gentes] plus valet series naturae quam virtus potentiae divinae'. Ser. 27, P.L. 171:438C.

could lead to understanding¹. Comestor, in like manner, derided those philosophers who believed nothing unless proved by human reason².

Moreover, not only could the classical disciplines, if abused, pervert true understanding of the bible and so of the faith, they could also detract from theological study altogether. Peter of Poitiers criticised those who, in imitation of classical culture, sought understanding of the world in secular knowledge rather than in theology and faith³ and Alan of Lille preached an entire sermon against those clerics who thoroughly absorbed themselves in the liberal arts and never progressed to theological study, preferring the temporary half-truths of human science to the eternal truths of theology⁴. Robert Pullen, half a century earlier, had preached the same message to his student audiences⁵.

Nor was the challenge posed to theology masters by the liberal arts entirely an intellectual one. Alan, like his colleagues, regarded study as a form of religious service. Its ultimate purpose was knowledge of God and christian Truth. Comestor considered scholars to be

1. 'Quia nisi crederit non intelliget'. Ser. 27, P.L. 171:439A.

2. 'Qui nihil putant verum nisi ratio humana praebat eis experimentum'. Ser. 15, P.L. 198:1724C.

3. Illustrative text no. 3, pp. 278-9, ll. 47-59.

4. 'Sermo de clericis ad theologiam non accendentibus', ed. d'Alverny, Alain de Lille, pp. 274-8.

5. 'Non enim negamus quod ad tempus possitis vobis copulare et coniugare artes istas. sed non multum immorandum est in copula earum'. Ser. 13, MS. Lambeth Palace 458, f. 149.

intimately related to those living in religious communities. Both were contemplatives who served God, sought assistance from him and chose forms of contemplation appropriate to each in which to express this devotion¹.

The doctrinal instruction included in the masters' sermons was delivered in this context. The later twelfth century, however, offered employment to the student that was less high-minded perhaps than that envisaged by the masters but apparently more lucrative. Alan felt obliged to insist on the ultimate purpose of all learning as study of God because some clerics evidently put their learning at the service of more immediate worldly ambitions. The 'prostitution' of learning is a common theme of the sermons. The idea that skills acquired to serve God and to animate a movement of religious reform should be employed in the newly developing civil and ecclesiastical bureaucracies or in the rival professions of medicine and law was one that the Paris preachers had difficulty in accepting.

The question of whether the Paris masters were themselves entitled to payment for their pedagogic work was a matter of

1. 'Secundum duo opera contemplationis sunt duae species contemplantium. Duo enim sunt opera eius exteriora. Sola meditatio interior est. Exteriora, oratio et lectio; et sic contemplantes sunt claustrales et scholares. Claustrales ergo qui sine propriis viventes communem vitam eligunt, dicant "Domine, doce nos orare". Scholares, vero, in fame et siti, in frigore et nuditate vitam tenuam agentes, dicant: "Domine doce nos lectioni vacare quoniam suavis est sapientia . . .". Ser. 19, P.L. 171:412D.

debate in the schools at the end of the century¹. Comestor, as chancellor, had been granted the privilege of charging a fee for the issue of a teaching licence² though the practice was generally forbidden and he himself regarded the pursuit of learning in search of financial profit as a form of simony³. Alan, with a touch of professional jealousy, criticised not only those who earned money as lawyers and doctors but also those who preferred to shine as teachers of grammar and dialectic rather than putting their learning to the proper object of divine study⁴.

Pressures such as these encouraged the masters to deal with the purpose and methodology of theological study as a subject in its own right. Such discussion provided a foundation for instruction in the doctrines and consequences of the theology itself that remained the primary purpose of the sermon.

The general form in which this doctrinal instruction was cast may be seen in the Advent preaching of Lombard and Comestor. Lombard was particularly concerned to define and discuss the theological doctrines of the Incarnation and Virgin Birth in the context of Advent and the feasts relating to the Virgin. The opening paragraphs of his first Advent

1. Baldwin, Masters, Princes and Merchants, pp. 124-30.

2. Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis (ed. H. Denifle and A. Chatelain, Paris, 1889-1897, 4 vols.), i. no.8.

3. 'Velle scire ut lucremur simonia est'. Ser. 16, P.L. 198:1728A.

4. 'Ve in intentione quia aut intendunt emungere pecuniam, ut legiste et phisici, aut consequi vanam gloriam ut grammatici et dialectici'. 'Sermo de clericis ad theologiam non accendentibus', ed. d'Alverny, op.cit., p. 274.

sermon, for example, defined the conception by the Virgin of Christ, 'Filium Patri homousin, id est consubstantialem', through the operation of the holy spirit without human participation. Lombard emphasised the dual nature of the single Christ. He explained that all men were brothers of Christ by adoption ('adoptionis fraternitas') though that Christ, since born of the Father before time, was 'Primogenitus' among them¹.

He elaborated on much of this and approached it with a changed emphasis in his sermon for the Annunciation. Once again he recapitulated the doctrines of the creation in the Virgin of Christ by the holy spirit without human participation and of the dual nature². He insisted that Christ was the true son of God not the son merely by adoption or name and then continued, in a passage lifted verbatim from the Sententiae, to distinguish two births of Christ, the one from the beginning of time, the other in the Incarnation³.

Comestor's preaching though more lively than Lombard's, less technical and more elaborate in its symbolic exegesis, dealt with the same theological themes in similar contexts. In an Advent sermon Comestor too dealt with the dual nature of Christ; the divinity and humanity corresponding respectively to the Church triumphant and the Church militant, a juxtaposition apparently original to Comestor⁴. He concentrated particularly on the role of the Virgin as

1. Ser. 1, P.L. 171:370D-371D.

2. Ser. 18, P.L. 171:605B-606B.

3. Ibid., col. 606B, Sententiae, iii. d. 8, c. 2.

4. Longère, Oeuvres Oratoires, ii. 93, n. 86.

conduit between the two and emphasised repeatedly, though without elaborating the simple doctrine, the perfection of her virginity¹.

In another Advent sermon he presented the purification of the Virgin as a threefold process consisting of the isolation within her of the flesh from which Christ was created, the removal of the driving force in mankind of all sin and the strengthening of the Virgin herself through blessing². To the devil's two horns of conceit ('elatio animi') and physical vice ('immunditia carnis') the Virgin opposed the contrary virtues of humility and physical virginity³. In thus juxtaposing the devil's vices and the Virgin's virtues Comestor moved some way towards transforming Lombard's rigorously theological approach to the Virgin into a more moral treatment of her as an exemplar to be emulated by man.

At the end of the century Peter of Poitiers devoted virtually an entire sermon to a much more systematic treatment of the theological doctrines relating to the Incarnation. In

1. Ser. 16.

2. 'Cum obnubilaret eam virtus Altissimi separavit ab ea carunculam, ex qua formata est caro salvatoris. Exstinctus est etiam in ea fomes ille naturalis, languor naturae, ex quo surgunt in nobis illiciti motus, qui in nostra potestate non sunt. Benedictionem vero attulit illi angelus dicens "Ave benedicta inter mulieres"'. Ser. 15, P.L. 198:1723C.

3. 'Haec duo cornua contrivit in se illa mulier fortis contraria contrariis curans, humilitate dejiciens superbiam animi, voto virginitatis carnis immunditiam'. Ibid.

it he dealt successively with the union of the two natures of Christ, their quality, the form and the cause of the assumption of human flesh¹. Peter, however, like Alan of Lille, was capable of delivering a quite different sort of sermon when the occasion required. Another Advent sermon, delivered to a religious community ('viri spirituales') avoided all discussion of these theological issues and instead preached a tropological exegesis of its Old Testament thema in the manner of Robert Pullen, urging the audience to turn from the sins of the world and to follow Christ as exemplar and saviour rather than explaining the theological doctrines associated with him².

Discussion of the moral lessons to be drawn from Advent, although not entirely absent in the preaching of other Paris masters, predominated only in the sermons of Stephen Langton. Langton dealt only briefly with the theological doctrines raised by the Incarnation and concentrated instead on two aspects of Christ that would be of practical consequence for his audience. In the first instance he laid weight on the physical and human aspects of Christ's life, thus presenting him as a moral exemplar upon which the christian was to model his own conduct in the immediate future. Secondly, in an eschatological context, Langton presented Christ as the redeemer who had liberated man from the devil and whose

1. 'Unio divinae et humanae naturae, qualitas naturae, assumptae locus unionis, causa assumptionis', Ser. 'In sole posuit. . .' MS. B.N. 14593, f. 299a.

2. Ser. 'Egredere in Asaz. . .' MS. B.N. 14593, ff. 295vb-296vb.

life was thus of consequence for the ultimate fate of the individual.

In a sermon for the Christmas vigil Langton began by briefly discussing the traditional theological question of whether man might have been redeemed by means other than the Incarnation and Passion and then went on to introduce this central christian concept of Christ as saviour by playing on the more familiar realities of political authority. He asked his audience whether they would follow the son of King Louis if he came to rescue them from prison. Assuming that they would he went on to insist how much more the son of the King of Kings, who had come to rescue them from their captivity to the devil, deserved their obedience. The theological complexities of Advent were skated over and the overall christian schema of redemption was presented through contemporary figures so as to emphasise the practical consequences for the audience. The sermon went on to deal with the humility and poverty of Christ. Langton cast Christ in the role of the poor man who delivered the city besieged by a great king (Eccle. 9:15). Christ's poverty served as a model and a measure for man. Langton used it to urge his audience to live humbly, to reject worldly values as Christ had done and to give alms and hospitality to the contemporary poor¹. A sermon for the Annunciation treated the figure of Christ in exactly the same way. It presented him as both son of a king and as pauper and was to excite a

1. Ser. 118a, MS. B.N. 3495, ff. 95-96.

practical response in the audience as a result¹.

In another sermon devoted to the Virgin Langton related first of all the essential doctrines of her purification and unimpaired virginity with which Lombard and Comestor had been primarily concerned. He went on, however, to emphasise her importance for the individual in the process of moral reform. She was an intercessor to Christ on behalf of the penitent, a symbol of moral purification to those who had repented and of encouragement to those who had not yet done so. Langton illustrated the importance and influence of the Virgin with incidents from her life, thus not only explaining the theological doctrines associated with her and placing her in a moral context but also establishing for her some form of human identity to which the audience could relate².

This manner of treating material, though particularly apparent in Langton's preaching, was not altogether absent in the sermons of Peter Lombard and Peter Comestor. However, it was generally only in the period before Easter that preachers concentrated on moral instruction and treated christian imagery accordingly. Lent was traditionally a period of spiritual contrition and physical abstinence that culminated in confession and the moral purification necessary prior to participation in the eucharist as symbolic re-enactment of Christ's passion. Lenten preaching was therefore dominated by moral instruction and explanation of the process of repentance. Lent apparently raised fewer theological

1. Ser. 34a, MS. B.N. 14470, ff. 276a-278va.

2. Ser. 77b, MS. B.N. 14470, ff. 238a-293va.

difficulties than Advent and the masters concentrated rather on the human life of Christ as exemplar to be emulated by man than on the theological doctrines associated with the Incarnation.

Both Lombard and Comestor were familiar with a proverb to the effect that every act of Christ should serve to instruct the Christian¹. Comestor quoted it at the head of a sermon that dealt in particular with Lenten fasting. Christ's life taught the christian both why and how he was to fast. Christ's period of fasting and temptation in the desert served, explained Comestor, as the basis of the Church's definition and observance of Lent. Similarly the moral strength displayed by Christ in supporting the spiritual and physical trials of his fast were to be emulated in the Lenten fasting of the contemporary christian². Lombard used the same proverb in a more eschatological context emphasising this time the humility rather than the theological complexity of the Incarnation and presenting the life of Christ as a moral exemplar and his death as a redemption³.

Langton too, of course, presented Christ's life as a moral exemplar. A sermon on the text 'I have given you an example' (Jo. 13:15) was entirely devoted to drawing practical

1. 'Omnis Christi actio christiani est lectio'. See Longère, op.cit., ii. 77, n. 36.

2. Ser. 23, P.L. 198:1759C.

3. Ser. 21, P.L. 171:799C-D.

consequences for the individual from incidents in Christ's life. In particular the various events and humiliations that followed his arrest were interpreted by Langton as specific instructions to the Christian defining what ought to be his moral behaviour and religious preparation during the last days before Easter¹.

Though the focal point of all Lenten preaching was ultimately the crucifixion of Christ Langton in particular laid a new emphasis on the physical act itself and the suffering inflicted upon the human figure. Langton, together with Peter of Poitiers, was the first preacher to use the imagery of the five wounds of Christ². These and the five bleedings suffered by Christ during his life were to serve as images of the five stages in the process of penance³. Reflection on various moments in Christ's suffering served as moral lessons for man⁴. A Lenten sermon presented the Passion of Christ as an act to be emulated. As Christ had been physically crucified so man was to crucify his flesh symbolically in order to defeat the devil⁵.

Prevostin, as a natural corollary to this treatment of Christ's suffering, described for the first time the suffering

1. Ser. 40a, MS. B.N. 14593, f. 91va.

2. Longère, op.cit., i. 27.

3. Ser. 94b, MS. B.N. 16463; f. 48a.

4. Ser. 101a, MS. Ars. 400, ff. 57vb-59b, quoted Longère, op.cit., i. 156-7.

5. 'Sicut ergo Dominus suo modo tulit crucem pro nobis ita et nos modo nostro crucem facere debemus ad imitationem crucis ipsius'. Ser. 81b, MS. B.N. 14593, f. 84va.

of Mary as human mother witnessing the crucifixion of her son¹. For Langton reflection on the sacrifice of the Passion was to provoke tears of contrition and so lead to confession and penance and renewal of religious life. The motivation behind the tears was ambiguous however. On the one hand they were an expression, like Mary's, of compassion at the human suffering occasioned by the crucifixion. Langton's particular emphasis on the humanity of Christ enabled him to accentuate his physical suffering and so appeal to a human response in his audience. Yet interwoven with this description of the human suffering of Christ was the placement of the Passion of the incarnate God in its eschatological context. The culmination of the first coming invoked thoughts of the second coming and the Last Judgement. The tears were tears of fear not only of compassion². Moral reform was to be motivated not only by

1. 'Ita quod mater mea pro me graviter doluit. . . . Doluisset ergo mater mea inconsolabiter usque ad finem vitae suae nisi quod idem Spiritus sanctus quod passionem meam inspiraverat resurrectionem enim inspiraret'. Ser. 'Quem percussisti. . . .' MS. Ars. 543, f. 203vb.

2. '. . . Christus enim pro nobis quinque [modis] sanguinem suum effundit; in circumcisione, in oratione, in flagellatione, in cruce, in laceratione. Modicam habet virtutem qui uno cubito se saltem elevat. Ita ergo a nobis fiat ubi quinque cubitis pro illis quinque vicibus elevemus. Vel saltem ideo faciamus quia quinque vulnera passus est in cruce. Sed quid est de nobis adamas trahit ferrum, cum sit insensibilis. Ergo cor nostrum durius est quod sanguis tanti pretii non trahit, cum sit rationale. Si homo respiceret propter se alium vel sepe lacrimas eliceret et tota nocte dieque passionem Domini et crucem respicimus et tamen lacrimas non effundimus. Sed Dominus noster, sicut oportet, urbanus est et benignus. Sicut in vulgo sit. "A malo debitore accipitur avena pro tritico", sic facit Dominus de nobis quia mali debitores sumus. Ipse pro sanguine accipit lacrimas. Si contraventum incederes enim flatus venti

emulation of the suffering of Christ but by fear of eternal damnation.

Langton's depiction of Christ as moral exemplar and redeemer has for consequence both an accentuation of the image of Christ as human and a new play on primitive fear. Fear no less than emulation was to lead the christian to salvation¹ and Langton repeatedly described the eternal pains of hell that awaited those who did not repent². Here it is interesting to note that although the doctrine of purgatory emerged in the twelfth century, closely related to the new theology of sin and penance with which the sermons were primarily concerned and to which Paris preachers occasionally referred in this context, Langton made no use either of the doctrine nor of its iconography³. Purgatory interrupted the polarisation between heaven and hell. It provided a late

1 (contd.) oculos tuos tangeret nonne fleres ? Occurrat ergo intrinsecus oculis tuis timor illius tempestatis in qua veniet Dominus iudicare vivos et mortuos. . . huius saltem tempestatis ventus deberet lacrimae elicere quae pro nobis satisfacerent Deo si cum elemosina inungerentur quae inter alia opera dignior existit'. Ser. 94b, MS. Maz. 999, f. 121a.

1. 'Timor est enim nutrimentum et custos et excubia omnium bonorum'. Ser. 107b, MS. B.N. 14593, f. 80a.

2. (1) 'ignis inextinguibilis', (2) 'aqua glacialis', (3) 'fletus et stridor dentium', (4) 'tenebrae', (5) 'fedor intollerabilis', (6) 'vermis conscientiae', (7) 'horrenda habitatio et horror demonum et mala societas', (8) 'penitentia lacrimosa sed nimis sera', (9) 'liberationis desperatio'. Ser. 13a, MS. B.N. 16463, f. 32a.

3. J. Le Goff, La Naissance du Purgatoire (Paris, 1981), p. 177ff. See pp. 209-12 re Comestor's sermon no. 38.

escape for those who remained reprobate almost to the last and so mitigated the fears that Langton, in his sermons, worked to create in order to motivate his audience to penance. An exemplum at the end of the London collection of Prevostin's sermons described a vision of the after-life in which a purgatorial fire encircled the mount of paradise¹. Langton's imagery, however, remained deliberately and resolutely infernal.

Though there was a certain development in Langton's preaching of an emotive vocabulary and imagery the movement towards moral instruction in the sermon generally did not entail a change of tone. Instruction, albeit in moral theology, remained instruction none the less, couched in the structure and explored with the techniques that Paris preachers had gradually developed during the course of the century and not necessarily any less complex or scholastic than instruction in other branches of theology. The moral theology preached in the sermon remained largely formal, schematic and abstract. The masters defined and juxtaposed the christian vices and virtues in academic patterns rather than dealing with their specific and concrete manifestations in daily life. Tropology, though increasingly detailed and well-turned, was not yet satirical². There were moments of genuine psychological insight but a somewhat arid academic exposition was more common.

An Advent sermon by Prevostin, preached on the thema

1. MS. B.M. Add. 18835, ff. 25-25v.

2. Smalley, The Study of the Bible, p. 245ff.

'He shall eat curds and honey. . . ' (Is. 7:15), will serve to illustrate the nature of this moral instruction in its most developed form at the end of the century¹. We may note in passing that the first part of the sermon discusses doctrinal issues raised by Advent, notably the Virgin's conception of Christ and the latter's dual nature, of which the curd and honey of the thema seemed to Prevostin to be a symbol. The principal part of the sermon is occupied by an exposition of vices and virtues. Prevostin's starting point was the phrase from John's first letter, '. . . the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life' (2:16). It was expounded with the aid of illustrative imagery brought in from outside the text itself in a manner that, as we have seen, was characteristic of late twelfth century preaching. Each of the three elements of the phrase was represented by Prevostin as a witch from whose breasts seeped vices. Thus he identified the first as the source of gluttony and luxury. Gluttony operated through the three senses of sight, smell and taste that had brought about Eve's downfall in Eden. Luxury produced misplaced thoughts, loves and deeds and for that reason Adam had succumbed to Eve's encouragements to share in her disobedience. The second witch produced avarice, classified by Prevostin as the desire to possess another's wealth, the drive to material accumulation and the tendency to cling tightly to existing possessions; and vain glory, manifest in ostentatious behaviour, abuse of knowledge and hypocritical pretence to knowledge that one does not possess. Finally,

1. MS. B.M. Add. 18835, ff. 6-8.

the third witch produced envy and pride. The former, according to Prevostin, found expression in joy at another's hardship, misery at his prosperity and indulgence in one's own bad character; the latter in boasting, in pretence at knowledge and in insistence on precedence before another.

The spectrum of vices now complete Prevostin turned to the corresponding virtues. To the three witches he juxtaposed three animals; the she-goat, the cow and the sheep. These represented, following their physical natures, physical fragility, properly directed love and gentleness. The goat's two teats represented, according to Prevostin, spiritual contrition and physical punishment. The cow's four represented the mercy of God, individual meditation, glorification of the frailty of the human body and, finally, delight at a neighbour's prosperity and compassion at his misfortunes. The two teats of the sheep represented innocence and suffering.

The artificiality of all this hardly needs emphasising. The desire to direct the audience, to have some practical effect on the manner in which they lived their lives and to raise the level of individual moral consciousness is apparent, yet Prevostin remained almost exclusively at the level of theoretical exposition. From time to time preachers did indeed discuss in concrete terms specific vices to which a particular audience or section of an audience might fall prey. Such passages particularly attracted the attention of the first historians of medieval preaching but, like the exemplum another form of particularisation, they are comparatively rare in the sermons of the twelfth century. Similarly,

although most preachers concluded their sermons with a general exhortation to their audiences to lead a life governed by christian moral principles or more specifically to confess and prepare for the eucharist, the overall tenor of the material remained intellectual and dispassionate.

A partial explanation for the generalised approach of much of this preaching may lie in the nature of the process in which the sermons were copied and preserved as models to be emulated, or indeed delivered intact, by other preachers. From such model sermons passages of particular, and therefore of local and ephemeral, relevance may well have been omitted.

There was, however, a more fundamental explanation. Preachers were not primarily concerned with dealing with particular individuals or identifying specific vices. That was rather the task of the confessional handbooks where they would be assigned appropriate penances. At the end of the twelfth century there was a series of preaching campaigns against specific abuses. According to Mathew Paris, Robert Courson and Stephen Langton took part in several such campaigns against usury in Flanders and northern Italy¹. The task facing the Paris masters was more general than this however. We have seen that one of the consequences of the gradual evolution of a structure and techniques characteristic of the scholastic sermon was to mould it into a form of academic essay designed to give a general and comprehensive view of its subject. The sermon's structure and techniques both fashioned and were fashioned by the nature of its

1. Vita Sancti Stephani Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, pp. 327-8; quoted Roberts, Stephen Langton, pp. 17-18.

material. The effect of division and 'distinction' on the moral instruction delivered by the preachers is clear in Prevostin's sermon. Preachers were concerned primarily to lay down the general principles of christian morality, to define the vices and virtues that constituted the criteria of human behaviour and to provoke the contrition that would find expression in confession and the imposition of penances.

The essence of the sermon's task was thus the awakening within the individual of the capacity for introspective examination and self-criticism. The imposition of genuine religious reform and effective control of social relationships was not fundamentally a question of battling against individual vices. The twelfth century Church was not in a position to oversee the daily lives of every Christian. It was still struggling with the reorganisation and reform of its own clerical body without going into its relations with lay society. Instead, the individual had to be taught to be self-regulating and to measure his own behaviour against criteria established by religious teaching. The initial problem faced by the Church, as Prevostin explained to his clerical audiences, was not so much to hear confessions and to impose penances but to incite people to recognise and confess their sins in the first place¹. It was as a result of a constant process of self-imposed inner judgement that the individual, of whom twelfth century culture was particularly conscious, was to regulate his religious and

1. Ser. 'Sex annibus. . .' MS. B.M. Add. 18835, f8-9v.

social behaviour and to submit voluntarily and regularly to ecclesiastical control through the sacrament of penance.

(ii) Penance

It is apparent that as the twelfth century progressed not only did the forms and structure of the sermon gradually take shape but so too did its particular preoccupations and its place within scholastic culture generally. It became increasingly, though never exclusively, an instrument of moral instruction designed to raise the self-consciousness and moral responsibility of the individual and so ultimately to have issue in direct action. The presentation of religious vices and moral exemplars of great stature offered to the individual standards by which to govern his life and ideals towards which to direct it. The complementary delineation of vices served the same purpose and functioned as a form of religious and ecclesiastical control. The moral instruction of the sermon enabled the individual to recognise his faults, to take account of their consequences and to erase them through the process of contrition, confession and satisfaction.

The central place occupied in the sermon by instruction in the sacrament of penance was thus a direct consequence of the sermon's concentration on moral instruction and its role as an instrument of scholastic culture as a whole. The sermons, by raising the moral consciousness of the individual, were intended to set in motion the process of self-examination and contrition that constituted the first stage of the sacrament of penance.

Penance, however, was not only the focal point of the sermon's moral instruction it was also the key to the establishment of that instruction in a wider context. The sacrament of penance gave to it its proper and fundamental theological dimension. The real issue at stake was not the comportment of the individual during his ephemeral passage on earth but the ultimate fate of his eternal soul. A life of virtue merited communion in the sacraments of the Church and through them participation in the redemption by Christ of man and eternal blessedness. The stains of a life of vice would inevitably result in damnation if the process of sacramental purification had not been at least started at the moment of death. Behind the schemas of vices and virtues, therefore, lay the forces of God and the devil. Moral instruction was no less fundamentally a question of theological doctrine, of the Christian's conception and comprehension of God, than were such issues as the hypostatic union, the interrelation of the persons of the Trinity or Mary's virginity.

The theology of penance was the subject of considerable scholastic controversy¹. The debate among theologians centred on a number of issues, none of which were entirely resolved in the twelfth century. Indeed it was only in the twelfth century that the status of penance as a sacrament, in

1. For the development of the theology of penance see B. Poschmann (trans. F. Courtney), Penance and the Anointing of the Sick (Friburg/London, 1964). For a detailed assessment of the positions of twelfth century theologians see P. Anciaux, La Théologie du Sacrement de Penitence au Douzième Siècle (Louvain, 1949).

the recently defined and restricted sense of the word, (a status denied by Abelard) was firmly established. Penance differed from the other sacraments, however, because of the undeniable element of subjectivity in the process. It is, indeed, in the doctrine of penance, and in the conception of sin and moral consciousness that lay behind it, that the 'individualism' of the twelfth century Church is most apparent and that the tension between this individualism on the one hand and the objectivity of grace and the authority of the institution on the other is most keenly felt.

The subjectivity of the sacrament lay in the first stage of the process, namely contrition. Twelfth century theologians were clear that contrition for sins committed was the essential element in the process. Contrition alone earned the remission of sins. The problem was that if the first stage of penance accomplished the purpose of the whole process, namely remission of sins, there was no obvious need for the later stages, confession and satisfaction. Nor was this a purely theological problem. It carried extremely important practical consequences for the Church. Contrition was an internal, personal matter dealing directly between the individual and God. Only confession and satisfaction were external acts requiring the involvement of the Church and its priests. If confession and satisfaction were only secondary stages subsequent to remission of sins the role of the priest and the authority implied by the power of the keys might appear to be only secondary factors also.

The severity with which such questions were formulated and

the solutions that were developed for them differed from scholar to scholar. The issue was discussed and the main lines of orthodox doctrine laid down in the fourth of Peter Lombard's books of Sententiae. Lombard concluded that remission of sins was dependent uniquely on contrition. True contrition, however, would include a desire to confess. Full confession enabled the priest to assess correctly the extent of satisfaction to be performed and had the salubrious side-effect of humbling the sinner. Full satisfaction for all sins had to be served either in this life, or, more severely, in purgatory. The power of the keys possessed by the priest was essentially twofold. In the first place it was the power to correctly assess the sins and the conscience of the penitent ('clavis scientiae'), secondly, the authority to impose a penance and grant admission to the sacraments ('clavis potestatis'). Thus the power of the keys remained essentially extrinsic. The priest did not himself forgive sins, rather he certified that they were forgiven¹.

Lombard and other Paris preachers reproduced this sort of material in their preaching, though with the particular emphasis that the sermon inevitably required. Discussion of the more abstract theological principles upon which the sacrament was founded were generally omitted. Instead, preachers tended to concentrate on those elements that would have effect in direct action on the part of the audience, explaining the function and consequences of penance and outlining the principal processes of which it was composed.

1. Poschmann, op.cit., p. 160.

Interestingly, although preachers constantly presented penance as an integrated threefold process of contrition, confession and satisfaction the essentially theological emphasis on the primacy of contrition was significantly modified in the sermon. There was no suggestion that contrition was prior, and confession and satisfaction subsequent to, remission of sins. Indeed emphasis was given, if anything, to confession rather than contrition.

Certainly contrition was the first stage of the process. But for the preacher its primary importance lay in its function as an indicator of self-examination by the individual and the raising of his moral consciousness rather than in its theological consequences. The sermon's increasingly dominant tropological symbolism supplied this inner examination with a pictorial language and, as it were, laid it out in public. Descriptions of vices and virtues and of their inter-relationships, couched in the familiar personalities and stories of the bible or in common objects and phenomena of everyday life, gave concrete form to abstract moral and religious concepts and enabled the individual to recognise the same forces within himself. Thus Comestor described the seven religious virtues as a series of foothills over which the Christian clambered to the mountain of God¹ and Langton, in his inaugural lecture, gave concrete form to a series of vices by illustrating each with one of the ten plagues that struck Egypt².

The scholastic preacher, in effect, set out to teach his

1. Ser. 30, P.L. 171:586C.

2. Ed. Roberts, op.cit., pp. 226-30.

audience how to look for and how to recognise sin within themselves. The incapacity to conduct this process of self-examination and identification could itself be seen as the generic cause of sin. Langton explained to a clerical audience that many people did not confess certain sins simply because they did not recognise them as such. It was for that reason that effective examination by the priest during confession was so important¹. For Robert Pullen man sinned because he did not know himself and because he did not recognise his own inner drift to moral degeneracy². According to Alan of Lille the instruction of the Delphic oracle to 'know thyself' were the words said to have called to man from heaven³. For Alan it was the inner self-seeking of the spiritual man that set him apart from his more mundane colleagues⁴. In his De Arte Praedicandi Alan enumerated four mental actions, reflection on past deeds, on the condition of man's life on earth, on punishments and

1. 'Multi sunt qui sine simulatione peccata non indicant, qui peccata sua sub ignorantia supina sepeliunt, nec angulos conscientiae vel earum peccatorum aut originem scrutari sciunt. Inquaerendae, ergo, sunt peccati circumstantiae et discutiendae ne cor et anima cum eis turpiter computrescant . . .' Ser. 80a, MS. B.N. 16463, f. 81b.

2. 'Peccat enim mirando quae non sunt miranda, concupiscendo quae non sunt concupiscenda, delectando in his quae non sunt delectabilia, et hoc quia se ignorat'. Ser. 2, MS. Hereford Cath. O. 2. VIII, f. 77v.

3. 'O homo haec est illa vox celestis quae de celo legitur descendisse: Nothis elitos, id est, te ipsum cognoscere'. Ser. 'Memorare novissima tua . . .' ed. d'Alverny, op.cit., p. 267.

4. 'Qui querit se supra se fit diabolus, qui querit se iuxta se phariseus, qui querit se infra se fit homo pecus, qui querit se intra se fit homo spiritus'. Ibid., p. 271.

the desire for heaven, as the stages of the internal process of contrition¹. A corollary of this emphasis on the inner self was the development of a vocabulary of inner intent. Words such as 'intent' and 'conscience' acquired a particular force. At the same time a horror of the vice of hypocrisy and a fear of the 'false brother', be he religious or secular, became apparent.

As preachers the masters were somewhat powerless before their own theological doctrine of the primacy of contrition. By its very nature contrition was difficult to assess externally. Zink has shown how important were tears as an outer sign indicating an inner contrition², but there was no satisfactory way in which contrition could be quantified. Consequently preachers, and indeed clerical handbooks such as Alan's Liber Poenitentialis spent more time discussing confession, which was consequent to, rather than a cause of, the remission of sins but which, as a concrete act, lent itself to clear rules for sinner and priest alike.

The principal reason cited in these sermons for the need for confession was that it was only by confession that the priest could accurately gauge the extent of the penitent's sins and impose a sufficient satisfaction. Here, of course,

1. 'Quatuor sunt affectionum qualitates, quibus mens justi compungitur salubriter. Prima est memoria praeteritorum factorum; secunda, consideratio peregrinationis suae in hac vita; tertia, recordatio poenarum suarum; quarta, desiderium supernae patriae, quatenus ad eam citius valeat pervenire'. P.L. 210:170B.

2. M. Zink, La Prédication en Langue Romane avant 1300 (Paris, 1976), pp. 445-50.

preachers had different things to say depending on whether they were addressing priests who were to hear confession or clerical and lay audiences who were to perform it. To these latter Comestor made much the same general moral points that were made in connexion with contrition. Confession had to be truthful, humble and complete. In particular he reproved those who misunderstood the biblical texts customarily cited in this context in order to support the opinion that tears and contrition were sufficient and that confession was an unnecessary additional humiliation¹. So too preachers regularly insisted that full confession of all sins must be confessed in their entirety to one priest only. Pullen warned his audience not to seek out particular priests who were known to be a 'soft touch' in order to get a light penance. If penance was not served on earth it would have to be served in purgatory². A corollary to such attempts to impose parochial discipline was that priests were forbidden by canon law to hear confession other than from those in their charge³.

The same 'individualism' characteristic of the concept of

1. 'Tamen ad sui erroris confirmationem auctoritates Novi et Veteris Testamenti, dicentes: "Non teneor confiteri quia lacrymae lavant delictum, quod pudor est ore confiteri"'. Ser. 55, P.L. 198:1751A.

2. 'Peccator quoque si scienter ad simplicem et non prudentem confessorem eat, ut pro multis et magnis peccatis levem et insufficientem satisfactionem faciat, procul dubio procul a raphidim habitat. Nullum quippe peccatum remanet impunitum'. Quoted Courtney, Robert Pullen, p. 234, n. 95.

3. e.g. Alan of Lille, Liber Poenitentialis, iii. 41, iv. 16 (ed. J. Longère, Louvain, 1965, ii. 152, 171).

contrition is apparent also in the preachers' instruction to the clergy on how to conduct confession. A distinctive feature of the thirteenth century summae de poenitentia was the recognition of the fact that every case was different. The sermons share the same assumption. All these preachers stressed the importance of a thorough investigation of each individual, the assessment of each case on its merits and the imposition of a penance appropriate to the sin. Comestor specified the nature of this investigation. The priest should discover whether the sin was deliberate or accidental, whether it was committed on the sinner's own initiative or at the promptings of another, and so on¹. He went on to remark that penance should be imposed accordingly. Lombard, in an episcopal sermon delivered on the first Sunday of Lent, made the same point². Here, as in so many other respects, Paris demanded a great deal of the local clergy.

In normal circumstances confession was to be made to a priest and in particular, as we have seen, to the single suitable parish priest. However, in certain circumstances the masters, both in their sententiae and in their sermons, allowed that confession might be made to the laity and it

1. '. . . diligenter inquirere causas peccaminum, initiales scilicet et finales. Ultrum scilicet casu hoc fecerit, an ex deliberatione voluntatis; utrum alterius suggestionem, an ex propria mentis malignitate; utrum scilicet in eo peccatum seminatum fuerit, vel innatum . . .' Ser. 1, P.L. 198:1816B.
 2. '. . . ut secundum qualitatem et quantitatem commissi sit qualitas et quantitas poenitudinis et satisfactionis'. Ser. 12, P.L. 171:450D.

is in this respect that, reading between the lines, the sacramental nature of the priest and the power of the keys as merely secondary factors is implied.

Some sins as a matter of course did not need to be confessed to a priest. Bede's distinction between grave and venial sins was generally accepted. Only grave sins had to be confessed to a priest, venial sins could be confessed to the laity¹. In an emergency, however, when no priest was available, confession of grave sins also could be made to the laity. This safety clause was based principally on the authority of the pseudo-Augustinian eleventh century treatise De Vera et False Poenitentia and was generally allowed by writers on the subject².

Confession to the laity raised questions about the power of the keys. Alan, in a typically theoretical passage, accounted for the efficacy of confession to the laity by exploiting the distinction between the power and the use of the power that had been made with respect to other pastoral offices, including preaching. At the moment of confession, he argued, the layman although he did not possess the power of the keys did possess the use of that power³.

Discussion of satisfaction was couched in the general terms characteristic of the sermon's moral instruction and

1. Anciaux, op.cit., p. 228. See Lombard, ser. 26, 'Majora peccata seu delicta illis confiteri debemus qui claves acceperunt. . . . Hi sunt praelati atque doctores sanctae Ecclesiae. . . . Sunt autem quaedam levia et venialia peccata quae coequalibus confiteri licet'. P.L. 171:568B.

2. Alan of Lille, Liber Poenitentialis, iv. c. 27 (ed. Longère, ii. 180).

3. 'Alii habunt usum sed non clavem ut qui sacerdotes non

treatment of penance generally. Here too the preacher was primarily concerned to establish the general context in which penance was to be performed and the moral principles that were to govern it rather than entering into the details of imposition and the increasingly mathematical correspondences that governed the relationship between it and specific sins and that were rather the domain of the canon lawyer and the concern of the confessional handbooks than of the sermon.

Paris preachers generally specified the three traditional forms of satisfaction: fasting, prayers and alms. Lombard, for example, dealt briefly with these in the context of penance during a Lenten sermon. In each case he laid emphasis on the fact that the external act was of no consequence unless accompanied by, and the manifestation of, an appropriate inner reflection. Physical denial of food, for example, was not in itself laudable unless accompanied by spiritual abstinence from sin¹. Comestor, dealing with the subject more generally in the context of Lenten fasting, devoted his attention to the same point. The Christian had to fast in the image of Christ and to bear the physical discomfort in like spirit. To fast as the miser to save money or as the invalid to improve his health, though the same physical act, was of no spiritual worth².

3 (contd.) sunt cum in articulo necessitatis alicui qui copiam sacerdotis non habet penitentiam injungunt et talibus confitentur peccata unde ab ipsis usum clavus suscipiunt quia talibus satisfactionem injungere possunt'. MS. Toulouse 95, f. 121.

1. Ser. 12, P.L. 171:447B.

2. Ser. 23, P.L. 198:1759C.

This emphasis on the inner intent behind the outer act is, of course, entirely consistent with the concentration of twelfth century culture generally and in the sermon more particularly on the importance of the inner man. Moreover, the forms of satisfaction with which the sermons dealt were equally important as general elements of christian life. The liturgical year imposed upon the christian regular public fasts and the constant obligation to pray and to give alms. As a result preaching on these activities tended to rest loosely in the specific context of penance and rather to form part of the general moral instruction of which the sermon was largely composed, particularly since, as has already been said, the allocation of specific works of satisfaction to appropriate vices was not the preacher's concern. Thus the final, like the first, stage of the particular sacramental act of penance merged into its proper context as an integral part of the individual christian's daily life that was the principal subject of the sermon.

(iii) The Clergy

The Paris masters, as we have said, preached almost exclusively within the ecclesiastical community; to their student audiences, to the clergy assembled in synod and to the monks and canons of the Parisian religious houses. Certainly groups of courageous laymen may have ventured in on some of this university preaching but the masters none the less devoted their attention to the predominant ecclesiastical element in their audiences. They preached to form them in the revised image of the christian individual

that had emerged from twelfth century theological work. They set them new standards of intellectual and moral integrity and gave to these concepts an essentially religious character by setting them firmly in the theological context of Fall and Redemption. The sermon was thus an instrument of ecclesiastical reform. Masters preached primarily to the clerical body because as teachers it was part of their pedagogic responsibility to concern themselves with the religious as well as intellectual health of the students in their care and because there was some logic in first preaching religious reform to those who professed a religious vocation.

Yet although the Paris masters' immediate audience was the ecclesiastical community they were conscious of a wider audience beyond. Unlike the thirteenth century mendicant sermon the sermons of the twelfth century Paris masters were not delivered directly to lay audiences and did not deal specifically with religious issues peculiar to lay society. Paris masters were largely untroubled by lay religious movements and popular heresies and had less contact with their specific manifestations than did for example the Cistercians or the Papacy. Alan of Lille's somewhat unconventional career was a harbinger of a change in attitude. Nor, although there was some adjustment towards the end of the century, was scholastic culture primarily defined by social pressures.

Nevertheless, in a more fundamental sense the culture and its preachers was no less concerned with lay society than with the clerical body. Scholastic theology dealt with the condition and fate of the individual christian soul regardless

of the status of the body that enveloped it. The moral principles that the sermon laid down and the theological system of which they were a manifestation applied to everybody though the particular acts that they dictated or forbade (and with which the sermons did not deal extensively) were naturally products of, and relevant to, the particular circumstances of each individual.

Thus, though it was only at the end of the century that Paris scholars began to occupy the highest echelons of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and that a former Paris scholar became Pope, both masters and students had accepted pastoral offices and direct responsibility for the laity throughout the century. Similarly, although the masters did not preach directly to the laity and although the sermons were couched in language suitable for their immediate audiences the ultimate target of the religious reform of which the sermon was an instrument was the whole christian community.

Moreover, although the Paris masters were not in the vanguard of the more evangelical and socially conscious movements within the Church they contributed material and had some influence upon them. Jacques de Vitry's account of Fulk of Neuilly, who attended Peter the Chantor's lectures during the week and returned at the weekend to his village to preach to the local congregation, is a case in point¹. Systematic reform, however, could only be made effective through institutionalised channels and the obvious channel available to the reformers was the clergy.

1. Historia Occidentalis, ch. 8 (ed. Hinnebusch, p. 94).

For this reason too, therefore, Paris masters concentrated their attention on the clerical body. Their sermons were both a direct product of their academic work and an important contribution to the Church's attempt to come to terms with lay society. Only an educated clerical body could put into effect the practical consequences of the masters' academic work. Only a trained priest could preach and administer the sacraments as the masters wished. Preaching to the clergy was thus part of a campaign that, together with the tightening of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and a reorganisation of the diocesan structure, was intended to fashion them as effective leaders and reformers of lay society. By preaching to the clergy, far from ignoring lay society, the Paris masters could hope to reach the laity far more comprehensively than by preaching directly to them.

Apart from preaching to those priests included amongst their clerical audiences who would assume or reassume pastoral responsibilities most direct preaching by the Paris masters to the clergy took place in synodal gatherings. All the Paris preachers spoke to such assemblies. Some, no doubt, with the added authority of the office of bishop of Paris or chancellor of the cathedral chapter. Preaching to the clergy was thus evidently regarded as an important part of the master's responsibilities.

Peter Comestor's synodal sermons occupy the first part of his collection. They are shorter and more schematic than his liturgical sermons but they are systematic and well organised and they contain most of the material that reappears in the scattered synodal preaching of other Paris

masters. The sermons reveal an acute consciousness of the dignity and status of the priesthood as a body elected and chosen from amongst the people. The priesthood was defined as a body constituted by quintessentially divine election, whose responsibilities were specifically sacramental and more generally pastoral. Several of Comestor's synodal sermons dealt with the nature of the priesthood as an elect body raised up from amongst the common people and closer to God than they¹.

Peter of Poitiers, too, discussed the election and dignity of the priestly office. He, like Comestor, laid weight on the notion of the clergy as a body apart, defined by anointment and by its sacramental function, but he also hinted at the political implications of this conception of the clergy by reference to the priorities and respect accorded to this spiritual elite by secular powers². Here, as elsewhere, the political implications lay largely undeveloped. There was virtually no discussion of the political relations between Church and state. Preachers were primarily concerned with the condition of the priesthood and not with the political position of the institution.

1. Ser. 2, P.L. 171:761ff. Ser. 43, P.L. 198:1836Cff.

2. 'Considerate ad quantum culminem honoris eos pervexit gradus sacerdotalis, ab omni genere hominum honoreatur. Si in via, si in mensa sunt, primus locus ubique eis assignatur. Si assunt divites, si potentes, si nobiles, si litterati viri, semper sacerdotes anteponitur. Ubique primus honor sacerdoti datur. . . . Reges gentium et qui dominantur principibus et potestatibus terrae capita sua vobis humiliant, genua sua coram vobis flectunt, manus vestras cum devotione summa osculantur'. Ser. 'Vocatis Moyses. . .' MS. B.N. 14593, f. 327a.

Definition of the clergy as an essentially sacramental body underlined its primary responsibilities. Priests were to be more than just better Christians. They were Christians of a different order. Certainly part of their function was to lead their congregations by example. They were to profit from their training to teach and preach and to lead lives of religious and moral standards that might illustrate the substance of their sermons and offer to their charges immediate and practical values to be emulated. Besides this, however, the priest had an indispensable sacramental function as intermediary between man and God. It was he who prayed on behalf of those unable to do so, he who possessed the power of the keys to determine the fate of the soul, he through whom the transformation of the eucharist was established. It is ironic and at the same time testimony to the masters' consciousness of the fact that all their scholastic activity was at the service of a religious ideal that, though much of their effort and criticism was aimed at forming the intellectual and moral calibre of the clergy, the condemnation of Abelard had established clearly that the essential sacramental nature of the priesthood remained independent of the individual's moral and intellectual worth.

The sermon could not interfere with this essential sacramental nature of the priesthood. It could, however, contribute to the development of the human qualities necessary for the administration of the sacraments and for the exercise of the priest's secondary functions. Though the priest by his very nature might be empowered to administer the eucharist

or to exercise the power of the keys he still had to be taught how to conduct a mass and how to examine a penitent. Moreover, though the priest's sacramental powers were independent of his moral and intellectual worth, the sanctity of his office and the dignity of the clerical body, upon which the preachers laid particular emphasis, called for appropriate human behaviour. The sacramental nature and spiritual dignity of the clerical body served to impress upon the priests assembled in synod the extent of the responsibilities placed upon them and the concomitant penalties for those who abused them¹. They served as criteria against which to measure the performance of the individual.

Comestor's synodal sermons dealt with all these aspects of the priesthood. They did so in a manner characteristic of the approach of twelfth century preachers in general. That is to say they gave a general account of the subject without either going too far into the intellectual foundations of the doctrines they discussed (a matter for the schoolroom) nor dealing too specifically with the practical details of their daily application (a matter for the handbooks).

We have already had cause in another context to itemise the material with which Comestor dealt in one synodal sermon². He enumerated first of all the principal vices that the clergy, as indeed all Christians, were to avoid. He then dealt with

1. 'Quanto gradus eorum altior tanto gravior casus'. Ser. 43, P.L. 198:1836B.

2. Above pp. 139-140 (ser. 6).

their roles as intercessors in liturgical prayer and as administrators of the eucharist. Finally, he discussed their responsibilities to teach and preach and to set a moral example in their everyday lives. In other synodal sermons Comestor summarised in similar terms the essential functions of the priest. In one such, for example, he was to preach, to act as intercessor, to administer the eucharist and to set a moral example¹. In another he laid the emphasis on the need for the priest to be learned in scripture, his duty to exercise the power of the keys and his responsibilities to teach and preach to his congregations².

For Comestor the central role of the priest was the administering of the eucharist. He was fond of quoting Isidore's etymology of sacerdos as 'sacrum dans'³. The priest's sacramental function had been prefigured in the status of the Old Testament priesthood whose performance of animal sacrifices found symbolic expression in the eucharist⁴. Yet though Comestor emphasised this central role of the priest he in fact had very little to say about it beyond stressing its importance. There was no discussion of the theology of the eucharist nor of the priest's role in the sacrament. He did, however, in a general Lenten sermon give a historical account of the gradual lapse in taking of

1. Ser. 9, P.L. 198:1812A.

2. Ser. 4, P.L. 198:1821D.

3. Ser. 9, P.L. 198:1812D (Etym. viii. 12).

4. Ser. 2, P.L. 171:761ff.

the sacrament from once a week to once a year and of the Church's reluctant acquiescence to it¹. Nor did Comestor discuss the practical details of how the eucharist was to be administered, though it is worth bearing in mind that these synodal sermons are only schemas and would certainly have been elaborated in delivery.

The texts are a little fuller on the subject of the priest's role in the sacrament of penance, though it is interesting to note that, whereas in the general liturgical (predominantly Lenten) preaching discussion centred on penance (albeit often as a preliminary purification in preparation for the eucharist), in the synodal sermons the emphasis was distinctly on the sacrament of the mass directly. Comestor did not go into the complexities of the theology of penance but he did sketch in a theological background for his priestly audiences. He explained that they possessed the power of the keys by virtue of their descent from St. Peter and gave some indication of what that power implied, without going into the serious disagreements concerning the doctrine². He also, as we have seen, gave his priests some general practical guidelines for conducting confession³. The priest was to interrogate the penitent sufficiently thoroughly to prevent him relapsing into his former vices but without driving him to despair. He was to impose penances that took account of the severity of the sin, the

1. Ser. 26, P.L. 198:1765A.

2. Ser. 2, P.L. 171:762B.

3. Above, p. 200.

extent of the penitent's contrition and the strength of his body¹.

The disparity in Comestor's treatment of the two sacraments was not a consequence of their relative importance but of the human qualities required by each. In so far as Comestor was trying to train his audience it was only with these latter that his preaching could have any practical effect. The physical administering of the eucharist itself was fairly straightforward. On the other hand the psychological processes involved in confession demanded a great deal of the local clergy. Prevostin, for example, devoted large parts of the sermons that he delivered to priests to supplying them with arguments necessary to overcome people's reluctance to come to the confessional and their errors once there². Comestor laid down some general principles in his preaching. The penitential handbooks would provide more practical and detailed assistance.

Comestor seems to have had a particular academic interest in the liturgy. He frequently made allusion to details of liturgical practice in order to illustrate subjects with which he was dealing during the course of a sermon, and he often discussed aspects of the liturgy's historical origins and development. It was in the context of the central role of the priest in the Church liturgy that Comestor dealt with the priest's function as intercessor. He seems to have been equally concerned to ensure that the clergy

1. '... secundum peccati qualitatem, poenitentis contritionem, facultatem et virium corporalium sufficientiam. . .'
Ser. 8, P.L. 198:1811B.

2. Ser. 'Sex annibus. . .' MS. B.M. Add. 18835, ff. 8-9v.

both understood the significance of their liturgical acts and that they performed those acts correctly. He thus concentrated on the details of priestly conduct of the liturgy and on the symbolic explanation that lay behind them. He explained, for example, why priests were obliged to pray eight times a day by first of all quoting biblical authority in support and secondly relating each office to an aspect of the nativity or passion of Christ¹. He accounted similarly for details of priestly ritual in the conduct of the mass. The priest's movement from one side of the altar to the other and back again represented the preaching of Christ's word that had first been delivered to the Jews then to pagans but that would ultimately be accepted by the Jews. The extension of the priest's arms formed an image of the cross. . . and so on². In another sermon Comestor offered his priests some practical advice. The mass should not be artificially extended by an excessive number of prayers because the congregation would be bored to distraction. One of each of the major sections of the mass would suffice³. He also gave a practical and historical explanation of the fact that the priest was to pray silently on behalf of his congregation. Some of the fathers had apparently intoned their prayers publicly and been mocked as a result. To maintain decorum Comestor advised discretion⁴.

1. Ser. 1, P.L. 198:1814B.

2. Ser. 5, P.L. 198:1826D.

3. Ser. 7, P.L. 198:1831D.

4. Ser. 7, P.L. 198:1835D.

So too in a non-synodal sermon for the consecration of a church he recounted and explained the origins and symbolism of the ritual of the ceremony¹.

A recurrent accompaniment to discussion of the priest's sacramental role was the constantly emphasised obligation upon him to be a pastor, a leader and teacher, of his flock. This role he was to perform by setting an example of moral excellence and by preaching. Here we find the same insistence on human conduct and moral integrity that is a feature of scholastic preaching generally and on the intellectual formation of the priesthood only natural amongst scholars and teachers. Indeed this emphasis by the masters simply identified two aspects of the same priestly function. The priest was to instruct his congregation, both by preaching on the christian virtues and by living them in his daily life.

The moral standards demanded of the clergy were defined by this responsibility to set an example to the laity on the one hand and by the obligation to conduct themselves in a manner worthy of the sacraments that they administered on the other. Thus, to intercede on behalf of a sinner when the priest himself was morally unworthy was, according to Comestor, the greatest affront². Alan denounced the inversion of values that enabled the clergy to continue administering the eucharist and preaching while living a life

1. Ser. 40.

2. Ser. 9, P.L. 198:1812A.

of moral depravity¹. In a Lenten sermon delivered to a mixed audience of laity and clergy Comestor emphasised the obligation of all to repent and confess in preparation for the taking of the eucharist. However, the clergy in particular were to accomplish the same programme of spiritual purification more quickly and more thoroughly than the laity so as to enable them both to set an example to the latter and to hear their confession and impose appropriate penance in a suitably prepared state².

A synodal sermon by Langton laid out more precisely than was Comestor's custom what this process of spiritual purification by the clergy might entail and what standards of moral behaviour were expected of them specifically as priests. Langton presented St. Peter's threefold denial of Christ as a denial of vice to be emulated by the clergy, Peter's spiritual descendants. According to Langton the denial was in the first place a renunciation of the flesh and particularly of fornication. Both Langton and Alan of Lille reminded their clerical audiences from time to time of their vows of chastity but bearing in mind how central the idea of clerical celibacy was to the reform movement it is perhaps surprising that they and preachers like Comestor

1. 'Proh dolor omnia versa sunt in contrarium. Omnes tenent ordinem preposterum quia non nisi indigni accedunt ad mensam Christi. Sacerdotes qui nunc in luto luxurie volutantur consequenter ad altaris sacramentum rapiuntur. Sacerdotes qui nunc dant suavius scorto consequenter dant osculum Christi. Sacerdotes qui nunc ioculatoriis lenocinii verbis utuntur, consequenter cum Christi verbis ineffabilibus ratiocinantur.' Alan, ser. 'Lectulum Salomonis. . .' ed. d'Alverny, op.cit., p. 284.

2. Ser. 28.

did not give this particularly clerical virtue a great deal more emphasis. The second element of Peter's denial was, said Langton, a rejection of the vices of cupidity and avarice. In particular he criticised those clergy who dared to traffic in the sacraments and to accept a fee for conducting a mass. Finally, the denial to be practised in emulation of Peter's was one of ambition and arrogance. Priests were to live and conduct themselves humbly and to accept responsibility for themselves and for those in their care¹.

Just as the priest was to lead his congregation by setting it an example in his daily life and religious practices so he was to do by verbal instruction. The Paris masters laid great weight on the priests' obligation to preach and indeed did rather more than simply exhort them to do so. They provided a whole range of aids, manuals and models to enable them to preach more effectively. So important was the preaching responsibility itself that, in the thirteenth century, the act of delivering a sermon was considered in some theological circles virtually as a sacrament.

The sort of material that the masters wanted the priests to deliver to their congregations may be discerned from the nature of the sermons preached by the masters themselves and of the preaching aids that they provided for them. It was to consist primarily of moral instruction. The priest, like

1. Ser. 9, MS. B.N. 14470, f. 208bff.

the master, was to regulate the religious and social conduct of his congregations and bring them, at least annually, to the central sacraments of penance and the eucharist. The material that Alan, for example, provided in his De Arte Praedicandi to be preached by the clergy consisted of discussions, first of all of each of the principal vices and virtues, and secondly of the various stages in the process of penance.

The priest was also responsible for expounding the bible to his congregation and, either publicly or during confession, correcting their understanding of the faith. The pastor, Comestor told his audience, must take care of four categories of sheep; the weak, the refractory, the errant and the robust. Similarly, the priest had to look after those of his congregation who were weak and capitulated to the temptations of vice, those who rejoiced and deliberately indulged in a life of vice, those who were led astray by false doctrines and those who were strong and constant in their faith¹. The priest had to be able not only to correct the moral conduct of the first two categories but also to expound orthodox doctrine to those who erroneously or maliciously held heretical beliefs.

In this context it is worth noting that the heresies envisaged by Comestor were those intellectual doctrines, such as the trinitarian heresies of Arius and Nestor, with which he would have been acquainted through the polemics

1. Ser. 7, P.L. 198:1833C.

of the fathers and not, apparently, the contemporary heretical movements with which the Church was already engaging.

Comestor supplied biblical authorities to be quoted by the priest in contradiction of the heretical doctrines.

Prevostin did likewise. The texts he provided were designed to correct those who reiterated the Arian heresy that the Son and the holy Spirit were subservient to the Father, those who doubted the true humanity of the Son or the resurrection of the dead and those who denied the validity of marriage¹.

To carry out this sort of teaching the clergy clearly required a sound intellectual grounding in the doctrines of the faith and the techniques of biblical exegesis. This training the scholastic sermon, and indeed the whole scholastic movement of which the sermon was a part, was to provide.

Alan of Lille, both in his sermons and in the De Arte Praedicandi, criticised those clergy who were too ignorant to perform their proper teaching and preaching role and were therefore unable to guide the laity in the faith or to protect them from heretics².

In this as in other aspects the masters' expectations of the clergy risked disappointment. Their whole conception of the priesthood and the clerical body set standards difficult to attain. Comestor's synodal sermons were both comprehensive and generally positive. The emphasis was on instruction rather than criticism. Towards the end of the century, perhaps

1. Ser. 'Subito cecidit Babilon . . .' MS. B.M. Add. 18835, f. 10v.

2. Ser. 'O pater mi. . .' MS. Toulouse 195, f. 99v; De Arte Praedicandi, P.L. 210:180D.

reflecting a wider experience of conditions beyond Paris and also a certain disillusionment, the preachers tended to become more specific and more critical in their approach.

Against a general background of criticism of the moral and intellectual calibre of the clergy and of their consequent incapacity to carry out the sacramental, pastoral and pedagogic functions expected of them preachers increasingly specified certain delinquencies¹. In particular, emphasis on the vices of avarice and luxury and specifically on priests' selling of the sacraments bears witness to the same pressure exerted on a religious ideal by the gradual evolution of a monied economy that we have already seen in connexion with the issue of the purpose of scholarship. Langton and Alan of Lille dealt repeatedly with this abuse. Alan specified three forms of such simony; teaching, preaching or celebrating mass for a fee, celebrating mass more than once a day and, thirdly, selling burial rights².

Paris scholars demanded a great deal of the local parochial clergy and the frequency and virulence of their denouncements of clerical inadequacies is symptomatic of the extent of their disappointment, though not necessarily of the objective state of the general clergy. Twelfth century masters envisaged an essential role for the clergy in their campaign of ecclesiastical reform. Priests were to be both object and instrument. Yet they had neither the intellectual

1. Longère, op.cit., i. 378-381.

2. Ser. 'Lectulum Salomons. . .' ed. d'Alverny, op.cit., p. 285.

training nor the moral support to fulfil their allotted role. It is significant, for example, that although the synodal sermons dealt with the spiritual concept of a priestly body there was virtually no discussion of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, of the priesthood as a community, nor, apart from some rather general remarks about the responsibilities of prelates, of the mechanisms of ecclesiastical authority. Apart from such synodal gatherings as those addressed by the Paris masters the clergy worked alone. Isolated amongst their parochial communities they were apparently unable to raise themselves above the common intellectual and moral standards of lay society.

In the thirteenth century various pastoral aids were provided for the local clergy. Scholars produced practical manuals of the new theology; scholastic reference material, preaching and confessional manuals, catechetical material and so forth. The fourth Lateran council and subsequent local councils laid down minimum standards for the clergy and made provision for supervision and assistance to be offered to them. The synodal sermons of the twelfth century were a harbinger of this thirteenth century activity and the thinking that lay behind it. The thirteenth century church however, unlike the twelfth century masters, no longer placed its hopes for religious control of lay society exclusively in the leadership of a reformed parochial clergy. It turned in addition to the new mendicant orders and exploited them as an extra parochial body sharing the intellectual and moral standards demanded by Paris and the lay religious movements

and, most importantly, enjoying the communal life and institutional support essential if those standards were to be maintained¹.

(iv) The Scholastic Sermon and Lay Society

We have seen that towards the end of the twelfth century there was some adjustment in the structures and techniques used by the masters in their preaching. Alan reverted to homiletic forms in the composition of his Liber Sermonum. Langton and Prevostin too adapted the structure of the homily for use in their scholastic preaching, reduced drastically the amount of formal academic 'distinction' and division in their sermons and introduced the technique of moralised anecdotes to illustrate their material. At the same time there were concomitant changes in the nature of this material itself, characterised, notably in Langton's preaching, by an emphasis on religious and moral instruction and by a refined treatment of the central figures and incidents of christian imagery.

These developments need to be set in the wider context of a gradual re-orientation of Paris scholarship generally towards the end of the century. Scholars, particularly those associated in some degree with Peter the Chantor, apparently began to address themselves more seriously to the needs of lay society and to sketch out religious guidelines to govern its essential practices². Passages of explicit social

1. A. Murray, 'Archbishop and Mendicants in Thirteenth Century Pisa', Stellung und Wirksamkeit des Bettelorden in der Städtlichen Gesellschaft, ed. K. Elm (Berlin, 1980), pp. 71-75.

2. Baldwin, Masters, Merchants and Princes, passim.

criticism and lay direction in the sermons of preachers such as Langton seem to illustrate and support this development. Beyond Paris the Church was increasingly conscious of an expanding lay society and of the lay religious movements that it produced. The sermon was a key instrument in the direction and bringing under control of these movements and in enlisting lay support for the Church's crusades to the holy land¹.

It may be that changes introduced in the scholastic sermon by Alan, Prevostin and especially Langton were motivated in part by similar ambitions. Roberts has pointed to instances in Langton's preaching of practical discussion of matters relevant to lay life². These are, however, somewhat scattered and insubstantial references and they are not characteristic of the general tenor of Langton's preaching as a whole. Much of the apparently explicit social criticism of the scholastic sermon was often only an echo of biblical language, and the vices it identified tend to have a certain timeless actuality³.

There was no fundamental re-orientation of Paris scholastic preaching at the end of the century. The development in preaching techniques reflect an attempt not

1. A. Forni, 'Kerygma e Adattamento. Aspetti della Predicazione Cattolica nei secoli XII e XIV' Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano, 89 (1980/1), 279-298.

2. Roberts, op.cit., pp. 112-117.

3. J. Longere, 'Pauvreté et Richesse chez quelques Prédicateurs durant la Seconde Moitié du XII siècle', Etudes sur l'Histoire de la Pauvreté, ed. M. Mollat (Paris, 1974), i. 268.

so much to come to terms with a particular audience but rather to instruct all Christians as effectively as possible in the central doctrines of scholastic, and particularly moral, theology. The moral instruction of the sermon laid down principles that were to govern all christian individuals rather than dealing with specific codes of conduct to govern different classes of lay life. The ad status chapters of Alan of Lille's De Arte Praedicandi are indicative in this respect of what was to come but a comparison with the much larger and fuller sermons of Jacques de Vitry indicates the change in attitude that was yet to be accomplished. Langton's sermons, although showing signs of this change remained, like those of his predecessors, essentially removed from the realities of lay life.

Discussion of the problem of poverty demonstrates the interaction of religious ideal and social reality rather well. As an institution the Church was well acquainted with the fact of contemporary poverty. Poverty was endemic in medieval society and in years of harvest failure and consequent famine, such as those at the end of the twelfth century, the pressure of inflated numbers of the poor exhausted the charitable support provided primarily by the Church¹. Yet despite this long established social role of the Church as safety-net for the poor the fact of contemporary poverty appears rarely in the sermons of the twelfth century masters. In Langton's sermons the reality of poverty, as

1. M. Mollat, Les Pauvres au Moyen-Age (Paris, 1978), p. 82.

distinct from the abstract concept of 'the poor' is apparent in his repeated appeals on behalf of impoverished students, a familiar feature of contemporary, and indeed not only contemporary, scholastic life and a well known object of charity¹. His appeals for alms for the poor have something of the legal tenacity characteristic of the social consciousness developing in academic circles at the end of the twelfth century and already some distance removed from the religious emphasis given to alms as a means of satisfaction in the sacrament of penance. He argued that the wealth of the individual was an abuse of creation, provided by God to be enjoyed and shared by all. All men were brothers in Christ and should share their wealth accordingly².

Thus as the concept of poverty began to acquire a consciousness of the social reality so too discussion of alms dealt hesitantly in terms of social as well as religious obligation. Yet the practical consequences of this nascent development were for the moment limited. Paris masters at the end of the century were not prepared to sanction a new dispensation, still less to proclaim it in their sermons. The essentially Augustinian concept of the world-order as a consequence of and punishment for the Fall beyond the capacity of man to alter and the view of the world itself as corrupt,

1. 'In his verbis continetur instructio ut, exemplo Tobiae, scolares honestiores ad mensam nostram vocemus et fratribus humanitatis officium exhibeamus'. Ser. 75, MS. B.N. 16463, f. 151vb.

2. 'Nil tuum reputes quia omnia creavit Deus communia'. Ser. 17b, MS. B.N. 12420, f. 60vb.

ephemeral and of no long term value retarded the serious application of religious intellectuals to the phenomena of lay life. So, for example although private wealth contradicted the initial communal scheme of creation Langton and his contemporaries did not, as Aquinas was subsequently to do, assert the right of the poor to steal in times of extreme need¹. The economic dispensation envisaged by the creation had been vitiated by the Fall. Wealth in itself was not evil, nor was the rich man as such necessarily damned, for Abraham and Job had both been rich. Rather it was misuse of, and devotion to, wealth that was reprehensible².

Moreover, still present beside this growing consciousness of social poverty in the sermons of Stephen Langton was the transcendence of this social fact into religious ideal. It is this concept of poverty that dominates in the sermons of the earlier Paris masters. Here the poverty of Christ and the communal life of the apostles served to fuel the concept of poverty not as a tenuous and painful existence but as the way of life, deliberately embraced, that most nearly approximated to that adopted by God while on earth in human form. This ideal had immense social impact beyond Paris in

1. G. Couvreur, Les Pauvres ont-ils des Droits ? (Rome, 1961), p. 254. For Aquinas see Summa Theologica, Qu. 66, Art. 7. Aquinas Selected Political Writings, ed. A.P. d'Entreves, (Oxford, 1974), p. 171.

2. e.g. Lombard 'Non damnat propheta divitias, vel earum dominos sed servos. . .' Ser. 12, P.L. 171:443D. See also another early thirteenth century preacher, John of Abbeville, preaching on the thema "Nemo potest duobus dominis servire" apparently to the laity: 'Nota tamen quod non dicit "nemo potest servire Deo et divitias habere", sed dicit "nemo potest servire Deo et divitiis". Potest enim quis habere divitias et Deo servire sicut fecit Abraham et Job et multi alii justii'. MS. Bod. Lyell 6, f. 183b.

the twelfth century, appealing both to those forced to live in poverty and to the wealthy who reacted against the excesses of their own way of life and turned to the other extreme. These were movements of which the Church was very conscious, by which it felt somewhat threatened and to which it responded by eventually adopting them as a new and legitimate form of religious life¹.

The nomadic movements of the early twelfth century had been channelled by the Church into various stationary forms of religious life². As such they were able to give expression to the poverty ideal in ways regarded as legitimate by the established Church. It is almost exclusively in this form that it appeared in twelfth century Paris sermons. Not only was there little recognition of the social realities of poverty in the preaching of Peter Lombard and Peter Comestor but nor was there any play on the ideal as a social movement³. Instead, and quite naturally in preachers speaking to exclusively ecclesiastical audiences, the poverty ideal was expressed in terms of the religious life and rejection of the secular world. It is felt particularly in the admiration of all these masters for the life of the religious canons, modelled as it was on the apostolic ideal of shared

1. H. Grundmann, Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter (Berlin, 1935), pp. 102-111.

2. E. Werner, Pauperes Christi (Leipzig, 1956), pp. 77-88.

3. See the five forms of poverty, all spiritual and of which the last is emulation of Christ's poverty, identified by Comestor, ser. 12, P.L. 198:1789D.

lives and wealth. Comestor, himself for a time an Augustinian canon, particularly admired the mean ('mediocritas') struck by them in regulating their lives so as to avoid the two extremes of physical indulgence on the one hand and pride in excessive physical denial on the other¹.

Comestor was evidently aware, as others had been before him, of the criticisms voiced by seculars against the introversion and rejection of the world by such religious communities. In one sermon he gave voice to such criticisms in dialogue form:

Why condemn the wealth, marriage and community of secular life in order to live in religious seclusion when such forms have precedents in the bible itself ?

He offered a restrained and splendidly cryptic reply:

'Many paths lead to God, but some are safer than others'.²

Langton, who was more open than Comestor to the values of the secular world, still recognised the higher worth of religious seclusion³. For him too poverty was a form of religious ideal in imitation of the life of Christ⁴. In his sermons the burgeoning social reality was still clothed in images of religious apotheosis. The poor constituted

1. 'Character enim ordinis tui est mediocritas in victu, vestitu, incessu, tonsura, in psallendo et huiusmodi'. Ser. 13, P.L. 198:1796A.

2. 'Multiplices viae sunt ad Deum, sed aliae aliis tutiores'. Ser. 39, P.L. 171:701D.

3. Ser. 14, MS. B.N. 16463, f. 141va.

4. 'Huius autem regis [i.e. Christi] milites sunt pauperes et ei conformes quia ipse fuit pauper. Date ergo pauperibus et dabitis ei'. Ser. 23, MS. B.N. 16463, f. 45.

at once a pressing social problem for which the Church had to formulate legislation and an ideal of religious life. Charity for the recipient was indispensable to his physical sustenance. For the donor it was, together with prayer and fasting, a means of demonstrating the completion of his spiritual purification in which the fact of giving was much more important than the existence of the recipient¹.

Although Langton made adjustments in his preaching for lay audiences he never really escaped the essentially religious and ecclesiastical mentality that dominates in the sermons of earlier Paris masters who preached exclusively to ecclesiastical communities. His sermons still give the impression of a religious looking out onto the world rather than a prelate fully engaged in it. Indeed in this context it is important to bear in mind Roberts' conclusion that virtually all of Langton's surviving sermons were preached while he was a master in Paris and before he became archbishop of Canterbury². As a result his view of the world, like that of Lombard and Comestor, was essentially Augustinian and negative³. It was a world of vices and moral snares, an Old Testament desert in which man was an exile far from his spiritual home. Its pleasures would be paid for in the life

1. Mollat, op.cit., p. 141. 'Même sublimé comme image du Christ, le pauvre, en soi, reste un oublié: on le présente comme l'instrument du salut du riche bienfaiteur'.

2. Roberts, op.cit., p. 73.

3. 'Siquis statum suum diligenter velit attendere et, sicut praecipit propheta, cor suum super vias ponere, id est vitae suae seriem cogitando percurrere, magnam esse huius incolatus miseriam evidentissime poterit perpendere'. Ser. 118a, MS. B.N. 16463, f. 26a.

to come. The greater the sufferances endured in it the more glorious the reward offered in the next¹. It is striking how little Comestor used the concept of hell in his sermons. Rather he tended to juxtapose to the pleasures of heaven the vices and decay of the physical world. In Langton's sermons, though, as we have seen, the fears and pains of hell were much more in evidence, there was no fundamental reconciliation with the ways of men in the world. Its injustices and inequalities were to be expected and tolerated. They were not to be resisted in the present life but would be rectified in the future. The Last Judgement functioned as a social corrective and rectified not only personal sin but social order:

As in the sea big fish eat smaller ones, so in this world the rich consume the poor, oppress them and expropriate their goods. . . . similarly, as the appearance of the whale is a warning of coming storms in the sea, so the prosperity and jubilation of the rich in this life is a sign of the horrible storm that will break over them.²

There is plenty of evidence in the schools sermons of the humanism and individualism characteristic of the 'twelfth century renaissance'. It is particularly apparent, as we have seen, in discussion of penance where the integrity of

1. 'Sed quanto haec vita in praesenti gravior, tanto retributio futura erit gloriosior'. Ser. 14, MS. B.N. 16463, f. 141va.

2. 'Sicut enim in mari magni pisces devorant minores, ita in mundo divites devorant pauperes et bona eorum opprimendo auferunt. . . . idem, sicut ludus ceti in maris signum est futurae tempestatis, ita prosperitas et exultatio divitum in presenti signum est illius horribilis tempestatis venturae super eos'. Ser. 110a, MS. B.N. 14470, f. 204vb.

the individual seems to take precedence over the mystery of the sacrament. A recognition of each individual as a separate entity for whom particular responses must be developed is apparent. Preachers showed a grasp of some important, though perhaps intuitive, principles of human psychology and the notion of tropology as a language of the soul is important here.

Yet at the same time as the individual was given particular emphasis in the sermons of Langton and Comestor so too was he belittled in the cosmic scale of the christian myth with which the sermons were concerned. Discussion of personal responsibility for sin, inner knowledge and the moral example given by the life of Christ was inevitably set in the larger framework of the Fall of man and his redemption by the Incarnation. Here the individual was in danger of being lost in the apocalyptic battles between Christ and the devil and the stern schemas of vices and virtues. So too the tendency, particularly apparent in Comestor, to set this apocalyptic scheme in a chronological framework tended to diminish the individual still further. The history of the world was seen as a working out of the divine plan in which the integrity of individual human acts was of little importance. Instead they served as signs and cyphers of the progression of the plan to its fruition in the Second Coming.

This emphasis is entirely comprehensible within the essential sacramentalism of the Church and its fundamental belief in values beyond the human and mundane. It is all the more understandable in a sermon literature delivered

exclusively to audiences who in theory or in actual fact had rejected the secular world or had raised themselves above it in order to lead it to higher religious goals.

It is an aspect of christian culture, however, that is equally apparent in Langton's sermons. Indeed, as a result of the less sophisticated and therefore starker terms in which Langton preached, it is perhaps more apparent in his sermons than in those of the previous generation of preachers. Despite the structural and linguistic adjustments made by Langton in his preaching and despite the occasional but important attempts to deal with specific problems relevant to lay society the dominant impression left by Langton's sermons is that of a scholar and a scholastic culture that refused to compromise with the realities of lay life. Langton still preached primarily, as had previous generations of Paris preachers, to draw his audience out from the world rather than to help them live in it. Christ had died not to make the world a better place for man but to release him from it¹.

There are indeed indications in Langton's preaching that may justify Roberts' description of him as a precursor of the evangelical movement but he remained essentially a preacher fully in the tradition of twelfth century Paris preaching. That preaching was the product of a culture that developed initially within the schools and communities

1. ' . . . ut nos eriperet de potestate diaboli et ab hoc carcere [i.e. the world] transferret in beatitudinem eternam'. Ser. 118a, MS. B.N. 16463, f. 26b.

of the Church to serve its inevitably religious 'other worldly' outlook. Ultimately Langton's sermons demonstrate how fundamental was the re-orientation necessary if this ecclesiastical culture was to make itself relevant to a lay society of human values and ambitions.

Chapter 6. Preaching at Saint Martial, Limoges

The sermon developed by the Paris masters during the course of the twelfth century was the product of a scholastic culture, sharing its techniques and concerns and designed essentially for clerical and student audiences. In the thirteenth century the mendicants took the Parisian sermon out of its scholastic context and, preserving and building upon its basic features, delivered it on a much more ambitious geographical, social and cultural scale. In the twelfth century the efforts of compilers and popularisers, the movement of Paris trained clerics and the gradual dissemination of the Paris collections themselves began this process of bringing the sermon out of its exclusively scholastic environment and introducing it at a local and popular level. We have already seen how enthusiastically Peter of Holy Trinity reacted to the use of 'distinction' in the sermon by compiling an enormous dictionary of 'distinctions' to serve as prefabricated units from which hard pressed or inadequately trained preachers could construct sermons in the Parisian style¹. Similarly William de Montibus, on his return from Paris to Lincoln provided a series of manuals to help the local parochial clergy to deliver sermons fashioned by scholastic method².

To attempt a general survey of the manner in which scholastic preaching was introduced into new religious contexts

1. Above, p. 91.

2. Above, p.105.

and different forms of medieval culture and was adapted (and resisted) by them would take us well beyond the chronological and thematic limits of this thesis. Instead, we shall take as an example of this process of dissemination and popularisation the late twelfth and early thirteenth century preaching activity of the Benedictine monastery of St. Martial in Limoges. The monastery was, in many respects, typical of a certain style of twelfth century Benedictine house. It was a well established local political power. It was wealthy, with important estates and dependencies and a large library, and it was well connected, both to the larger monastic network through its association with Cluny, and to political and religious affairs generally as a result of its position on one of the principal pilgrim routes from Paris to Compostella. What can be said of St. Martial's preaching and religious activity may also be true, therefore, of many other monastic houses¹, though the fortunate survival of the St. Martial library and of the historical writing of its librarian, Bernard Itier, makes the St. Martial material more accessible than most.

We should not expect to find that St. Martial's religious,

1. More than 100 twelfth century catalogues describing monastic and cathedral libraries have survived and many give some indication of the sermon collections possessed by these communities. Matching these catalogue descriptions to surviving manuscripts, however, is a much more difficult affair. See J.S. Beddie, 'Libraries in the Twelfth Century: Their Catalogues and their Contents', Anniversary Essays in Medieval History by Students of C.H. Haskins (New York, 1929), pp. 1-23 and J.W. Thompson, The Medieval Library (New York, 1957).

and particularly sermon, literature was overwhelmed by scholastic method. Its culture remained profoundly monastic, fashioned primarily by patristic writing. Within this culture scholastic preaching, even in the first decades of the thirteenth century, held only a minor place. The real interest of this brief chapter is not so much to quantify the importance of scholastic preaching when measured against other sermon forms but rather to throw light on the manner in which scholastic method was gradually disseminated beyond Paris in the period before the friars and on the uses to which the scholastic sermon could be put in an active cultural and religious centre such as St. Martial.

The monastery of St. Martial was a Carolingian foundation though the tomb of St. Martial, the third century missionary in Aquitaine, had been maintained by a community of canons and venerated by pilgrims since at least the end of the sixth century¹. In 1062, because of financial difficulties, St. Martial had been ceded to Cluny by the Viscount of Limoges, Ademar. At the time the donation had been fiercely resisted by the local community, who had not been consulted by the Viscount, and had had to be enforced by the presence of Peter Damiani and eventually of Pope Urban II himself². However, the patronage of Cluny proved to be of long term benefit to the daughter house. There were frequent exchanges

1. C. de Lasteyrie, L'Abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges (Paris, 1901), pp. 32-3.

2. Ibid., p. 83ff. H.E.J. Cowdry, The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform (Oxford, 1970), pp. 90-4.

between the two. Ademar, the first Cluniac abbot of St. Martial (1063-1114), successfully overcame the animosity of the local community and indeed patronised and presided over its most productive period of manuscript illumination¹. St. Martial was also an important centre of intellectual study and musical innovation. As for its religious discipline, Peter the Venerable wrote:

I know of no monastery between Cluny and the Pyrenees, be it Cluniac or of another order, where the rule handed down from our fathers flourishes so firmly, so unwaveringly and so constantly and that indefatigably preserves its rule among the raging beasts of Limoges with their fierce jaws agape.²

It was also, evidently, a wealthy house. The concerted campaign by the community, led by Ademar of Chabannes, to have St. Martial recognised as apostle and founder of the Church in Aquitaine had eventually been endorsed by the declarations of a series of councils in 1031³. St. Martial's new status, unchallenged throughout the middle ages, added considerably to Limoges' importance as a principal pilgrimage site possessing an impressive collection of relics (augmented in 1130 by the discovery of the 'head of St. Martial'), quite apart from its position on one of the main routes to the

1. D. Gaborit-Chopin, La Décoration des Manuscrits à Saint-Martial de Limoges et en Limousin (Paris, 1969), p. 113ff.

2. 'Nam, ut opinio mea fert, a cluniaco nostra usque ad Pyrrheneos illos, qui Gallos ab Hyberis dividunt, nullum cluniacensis vel cuiuslibet antiqui ordinis monasterium novi, ubi tam firmiter, tam constanter, tam inconcusse, traditus a patribus ordo hucusque viguerit, et inter frementes Lemovicini territorii bestias earumque feroces rictus indefesse instituta servaverit'. G. Constable, The Letters of Peter the Venerable (Harvard, 1967), i. p. 384.

3. Lasteyrie, op.cit., pp. 79-80.

more important shrine at Compostella. Urban II's confirmation charter listed over fifty dependent priories, prevotes and churches, and by the thirteenth century St. Martial was responsible for over eighty¹. It had influential lay patrons from amongst the local nobility going back to Pepin the Short in the eighth century². It had a monastic library second only to Cluny's, and was able, throughout the twelfth century, to sustain an impressive building programme. The principal source of revenue seems to have been the wine harvest.

Nevertheless, by the end of the twelfth century St. Martial faced financial problems. Its buildings had been repeatedly damaged and its treasures stolen in the course of the revolt of Henry II's sons and the wars between England and France. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the first indications of the individual allocation of the conventual mense, that was to contribute to the financial decline of the monastery in the later middle ages, appeared and in the disputed abbatial election of 1220 the librarian and chronicler Bernard Itier declared himself in favour of the candidate whose personal wealth and connexions were most likely to restore the finances of the monastery³.

It is largely as a result of Itier's work that the preaching activity of St. Martial may be studied at all. Itier spent virtually his whole life in the monastery and was

1. The charter, issued in 1097, is printed by Lasteyrie, op.cit., pp. 431-3.

2. Ibid., pp. 255-7.

3. Itier's Chronicle, ed. H. Duplès-Agier, Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges (Société de l'Histoire de France, xx. 1874), p. 108.

for twenty years its librarian. He was born into a family of some wealth and entered St. Martial as 'puer scholaris' in 1177. He became a deacon in 1185 and was ordained priest in 1189. He was successively treasurer (c. 1189), sub-librarian (1189), librarian (1204-1225), sub-chanter (1198-1205) and pre-chanter (1211). He was also prior of various St. Martial dependencies. He died in 1225.

The library for which he was responsible was one of the most important in the twelfth century. Four catalogues have survived. Of these the second is merely a fragment of the third, itself compiled by Itier in about 1223¹. Itier's catalogue contains only about 150 items. Elsewhere, however, he noted that the library contained about 450 manuscripts² and indeed the fourth of the catalogues, compiled probably by Itier's successor as librarian, lists about as many items.

It is not just the size of the library that makes St. Martial of particular interest. More important is the fact that Itier, in his capacity as librarian, was responsible for the rebinding of several manuscripts, a fact that he himself noted in the manuscripts themselves. In other manuscripts he added comments, corrections and accounts or jottings relating to the history of the monastery and of use in the compilation of his chronicle. These notes not only

1. Ibid., p. xx. The four catalogues are printed in the above work.

2. Ibid., p. 355, n. 2.

enable us to identify many catalogue entries with surviving manuscripts but also, by the same token, to identify at least some of the manuscripts that were definitely in the library at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Those from such manuscripts containing sermons, therefore, provide some texts which we may be sure formed part of the library's stock of preaching material.

Apart from such literary evidence of preaching at St Martial during the period, Itier conveniently provided a list of the preachers he heard deliver sermons in the chapter house over thirty years¹. His final and most substantial contribution to the subject was the chronicle that he kept until shortly before his death and that, together with a variety of notes and lists that he compiled, serves as the basic text for the history of the monastery in the period².

The catalogues compiled by Itier and his successor describe a rich monastic library. Apart from the usual biblical, patristic, monastic and liturgical texts St. Martial possessed a good collection of classical authors. It had a particularly important collection of canon and civil law codes and had copies of the more important contemporary schools textbooks; Hugh of St. Victor's De Sacramentis, Peter Lombard's Sententiae, Comestor's Historia Scholastica, Peter the Chanter's Verbum Abbreviatum and so on. At least some of the monks at

1. Ed. Duplès-Agier, op.cit., pp. 254-6.

2. Ed. Duplès-Agier.

St. Martial, therefore, were familiar with the methods and doctrines of scholastic theology and exegesis and must have received (the catalogues list many of the necessary texts) the preliminary education essential to make sense of them.

Among this material were several collections of sermons. They were evidently of many different sorts and were classified in the catalogues along with other works by the same author rather than gathered together as a distinct genre. There were several collections of patristic homilies and collations (by Augustine, Gregory, John Chrysostom, Origen and others), probably for use primarily in the monastic offices as prescribed by St. Benedict. Such material probably made up the bulk of the monastery's preaching literature, but one or two entries in the catalogues suggest more scholastic material. The last of the catalogues lists a 'sermones Comestoris',¹ that perhaps referred to Comestor's standard collection of sermons, though there is no such manuscript in the surviving St. Martial library. The same catalogue also lists a manuscript of 'xxx sermones [theo]logie' that may also have been a product of the Paris schools.

When we turn from the library catalogues to the list of preachers furnished by Itier the impression of the nature of St. Martial preaching is reinforced. The scholastic sermon had a minor but distinct role in a predominantly monastic culture. The list contains thirty six names, none of which can be linked either to the catalogue entries nor to preaching

1. Duplès-Agier, op.cit., p. 351.

material in the surviving manuscripts. Most of them are unknown apart from references to them by Itier in his chronicle or in other notes relating to the history of the monastery. It is clear, in fact, that most of these preachers were monks or officers of St. Martial itself or of its dependent priories. One or two of them were abbots. Itier heard preachers not only, as might be expected, from the mother house of Cluny but also from the 'rival' order of Citeaux. Itier's own name is on the list. In his chronicle he relates that he preached repeatedly to the laity on the vigil of the Ascension in the cemetery church next to the amphitheatre and on Palm Sunday in the amphitheatre itself.¹

The sermon for the Ascension vigil has survived². It is an entirely unscholastic piece. There is no thema and Itier made no use of division or 'distinction' either as a methodological or as a structural device. Partly as a result there is comparatively little scriptural quotation. The sermon is a simple exhortation that deals with the familiar theme of the two advents of Christ. The first part of the sermon is a celebration of the Resurrection and the redemption of man. The second is a warning of the Second Coming and of the Last Judgement that it will inaugurate. Although the sermon was clearly designed to stimulate a process of self-criticism and moral reform in preparation for judgement and for fear of the pains of hell there was no enumeration of

1. 'Sermonem feci ad populum in cimeterio Arenarum vigilia Ascensionis, et sequenti anno et quarto et quinto, et in Ramis Palmarum in amphiteatro', ed. cit., p. 81.

2. Ed. Duplès-Agier, op.cit., pp. 219-224.

vices and virtues (and their illustration by symbolic interpretation of relevant biblical texts) and no explanation of the various stages in the sacrament of penance, such as might have been expected from a scholastic preacher. Itier certainly had pretensions to scholarship. On available scraps of parchment he noted down summaries of particular theological doctrines and résumés of scholastic philosophy¹ and moral theology². Though these indicate some familiarity with scholastic method they are rather elementary and not very original. When preaching to the laity the techniques of the Paris masters were, as far as we can judge, quite irrelevant to Itier's requirements.

Apart from the local monks whose names make up the bulk of Itier's list of preachers there are one or two entries of particular interest. He heard, for example, 'quidam abbas ordinis Cisterciensis contra hereticos missus'. St. Martial, close to the Cathar strongholds of the south-west, seems to have experienced a strain of polemical preaching, both against the Cathars and in recruitment for crusades to the holy land, that, as we have seen, was somewhat dormant in the sermons of the Paris masters. A Limoges sermon, for example, defended the symbolism of the cross against the accusation by Jews and heretics that it was an idol:

1. Duplès-Agier, op.cit., pp. 226-30.

2. MS. B.N. 5505, f. 40v, see the comments of Duplès-Agier, op.cit., p. xl.

Treacherous Jews and heretics try to accuse us of that when they say that we worship idols when we worship images of the Saviour and of the cross. But they lie and falsely accuse us, for when we worship the cross and the crucifix we do not worship the wood or gold or silver with which they are made nor the artefact which they form. Rather, it is Christ whom we worship, whose image we see there and who bore the suffering of the cross for us.¹

Itier's chronicle is fairly well informed about crusades, both in Palestine and in the Midi. He reports that several monks from St. Martial accompanied a local contingent on an expedition against the Moslems in Spain² and that in 1214 Robert Courson came to Limoges to preach the crusade, apparently with some success³.

In addition to the monks and polemicists who preached in St. Martial there were also some scholars. Itier described two of the preachers as 'magister' and a third as a 'clericus girovagus'. Perhaps the most tantalising name on the list is that of 'magister Alanus, monachus Cluniacensis'. It is possible that it refers to Alan of Lille. Several of his scholastic sermons are included in a Limoges manuscript⁴. The

1. '... et de hoc volunt nos reprehendere et inculpare perfidi iudei et heretici qui dicunt quod adoramus idola quando adoramus vultum Salvatoris et crucem. Sed mentiuntur et iniuste nos inculpant, quia quando adoramus crucem et crucifixum non adoramus lignum, nec aurum, nec argentum unde crux aut vultus factus est, nec facturam quae ibi apparet, sed Christum adoramus, cuius imaginem ibi videmus et qui crucis poenam pro nobis sustinuit', MS. B.N. 567, f. 144a.

2. Ed.cit., p. 84 (1212).

3. Ibid., p. 92.

4. MS. B.N. 5505, ff. 55-63v.

details of Alan's biography after his departure from Paris in 1180 are unclear. He probably travelled around southern France and the Midi preaching and teaching before he settled in Citeaux. For a while at least he was at Montpellier. Despite his eventual adoption of the white order he had close contact with black houses, though he is not known to have been a monk of Cluny at any time. Several of his works are dedicated to black abbots and his interest in the liturgy would have led him naturally to the black monks and perhaps especially to Limoges¹.

Whether or not the Alan in question was in fact Alan of Lille wandering scholars such as these may well have preached in a more scholastic manner to the monks of St. Martial. Some of them entered the monastery permanently and left their manuscripts to the library. One such was a certain Peter the Spaniard who donated, amongst other manuscripts, an ars praedicandi². From others conscientious librarians like Itier purchased manuscripts³. More general contacts with Paris also helped to keep St. Martial up to date with contemporary scholastic work. Limoges played host to a constant stream of pilgrims, some of them no doubt students, on their way from Paris to Compostella. Itier's chronicle is well informed of events of interest in Paris. He recorded

1. See the discussion of this question in d'Alverny, Alain de Lille, p. 26.

2. Chronicle, ed.cit., p. 90 (1213).

3. Itier, for example, bought a 'decretales novas' for 16 'soldos'. Chronicle, ed.cit., p. 87.

rumours of Fulk of Neuilly's preaching¹, for example, and the deaths of the Parisian masters Peter the Chanter² and Peter of Poitiers³. St. Martial's extraordinary collection of musical manuscripts, though the product of several regional centres rather than of the monastery uniquely⁴, also suggests a connexion with Paris. The limousin innovations in secular and para-liturgical musical forms culminated in early experiments in polyphony, generally regarded as a product of the cathedral schools. Apart from fragmentary traces of eleventh century polyphony in the 'Winchester Troper' the first sustained efforts at polyphonic writing are found in the Liber Magnum, a product of Notre-Dame slightly earlier than the Limoges manuscripts⁵. Whether there was any direct link between polyphonic innovations in Paris and Limoges it is impossible to say but at the very least the two centres shared a common interest.

Of the 450 volumes referred to by Itier and enumerated in his successor's catalogue only 204 could be found when the contents of the library were offered for sale in 1730. Of these; 198 are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, together with another 17 volumes which arrived by other means⁶.

1. 1198, ed.cit., p. 65.

2. 1197, ed.cit., p. 64.

3. 1205, ed.cit., p. 70.

4. Chailley, L'Ecole Musicale de Limoges, p. 30.

5. L. Ellinwood, 'The French Renaissance of the Twelfth Century in Music', Papers Read at the International Congress of Musicology (ed. A. Mendel, G. Reese and G. Chase, New York, 1939), p. 202.

6. For an account of the sale see L. Delisle, 'Les Manuscrits de Saint-Martial de Limoges', Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin, 43 (1895), 1-60.

Leaving aside the collections of patristic homilies that provided the basic material for the monastic offices and those manuscripts that clearly entered the library at a later date, 17 manuscripts dating from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and containing some 230 sermons are of interest in our context¹. None of these are homogeneous preaching manuscripts. Whereas those Paris manuscripts in which the sermons of the schools masters were copied were, on the whole, organised thematically containing either a complete liturgical cycle by a particular master or an anthology by various masters designed to serve the liturgical calendar or grouped for specific audiences, the Limoges manuscripts are ad hoc collections containing a mixture of preaching material, commentaries, theological notes, moral tracts, patristic extracts and so forth².

St. Martial's access to such material was clearly much more restricted than that of a Paris community or scholar and

1. The following manuscripts, all from the Bibliothèque Nationale have been used: 483, 567, 585, 1785, 1813, 2469, 2843, 2941, 3154, 3237, 3239, 3454, 3548B, 3549, 5505, 6674, 7562.

2. The one exception is the eleventh century manuscript (B.N. 2469) containing the complete collection of Ademar of Chabannes' sermons together with the canons of the council of Limoges in 1031 at which St. Martial was declared an apostle. Ademar preached repeatedly in support of St. Martial's apostolic status. His sermons were delivered on the feastdays of St. Martial and on those of other saints associated with him and so were of particular interest to the local community. See L. Delisle, Notices des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, xxxv, 276-296.

to some extent it had to be satisfied with whatever chance circumstances made available. Few of the sermons found in Limoges manuscripts were designed specifically to meet local requirements. It is unlikely that they were deliberately selected. They are not grouped in any recognisable liturgical pattern, nor according to audience. Generally they have no rubrics and a preacher searching through the St. Martial library for scholastic material to deliver would have had great difficulty finding what he was looking for. Most of the sermons are anonymous and in so far as they can be identified they form an eclectic collection. There are sermons by black monks, such as one delivered on the subject of St. Benedict by Odo, the first abbot of Cluny, several of whose writings are mentioned in the library catalogue¹, and by the contemporary Odo of Soissons. The catalogues also mention manuscripts of St. Bernard's sermons. A few of these are found in the surviving manuscripts and we have seen that Itier heard Cistercians preach in the chapter house. There are sermons by Ralph d'Escures², the archbishop of Canterbury and by Innocent III³. From Paris there are sermons

1. MS. B.N. 2843, f. 51, ed. P.L. 133:721-9.

2. '"In illo tempore intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum. . .'" In scriptura sacra res una. . .' MS. B.N. 3154, ff. 20-20v.

3. MS. B.N. 3454, ff. 78-101v. Innocent was evidently in Limoges in 1187, see Itier's chronicle, ed. cit., p. 62.

by canons of the Augustinian house of St. Victor (e.g. by Hugh and Absalom) and by masters such as Peter Lombard, Peter Comestor and Peter of Poitiers as well as by Alan of Lille.

About twenty of Comestor's sermons, most of them from his popular and widely disseminated standard collection, are found in the Limoges manuscripts¹. Some of these, delivered on the feastday of Augustine or of James, Christopher and Germanus by Comestor to religious communities in Paris, may have been of particular interest to St. Martial. Most of them, however, are of general liturgical relevance and it is interesting to note that included among them were several of Comestor's synodal sermons. As we shall see St. Martial had important pastoral responsibilities which it administered either directly or through the intermediary of the parochial clergy. Consequently the house had some interest in the intellectual and moral standards of the latter and may well have put Comestor's instruction on the subject to good use.

As is only to be expected, there are rather fewer sermons by other Paris preachers, who were in general less well known than Comestor. There are a couple by Peter of Poitiers for the Nativity and the Last Supper², together with extracts from his sententiae, and a few more by Lombard³. There are examples of Alan's scholarly preaching and homilies from the

1. Sermons 26, 31, 84, 54, in MS. B.N. 3549 and nos. 19, 43, 35, 4, 39, 9, 33, 34, 117 in MS. B.N. 6674.

2. MS. B.N. 3154, ff. 21v-23v.

3. Nos. 1, 3, 7, 11, in MS. B.N. 5505.

Liber Sermonum¹. More surprisingly perhaps, there is only the odd sermon by Stephen Langton², and single sermons by Hilduin³ and by Gebuin of Troyes⁴.

In addition some of the anonymous material was originally delivered by and for scholars. It is interesting to note, for example, that some of the 'distinctions' found in the sermons of Peter of Poitiers conserved in Limoges manuscripts occur also in anonymous Limoges sermons⁵. Similarly, the principal 'distinction' of a sermon attributed by various Paris manuscripts to Comestor and Hilduin is found in a Limoges manuscript⁶. Another sermon consists of virtually nothing but a distinction of several moral virtues with the necessary scriptural support⁷. Examples such as these illustrate the utility of the scholastic 'distinction' as a nugget of theological or exegetical material that could be extracted from its original source and used in a variety of contexts.

In some cases the preacher was clearly conscious of speaking

1. MS. B.N. 5505, ff. 55-63v.

2. Ser. 77a, MS. B.N. 3239, f. 101.

3. MS. 3549, f. 19ff.

4. '"Completi sunt dies purgationis. . . "In hoc evangelio tria principaliter continentur. . . ' MS. B.N. 3154, f. 18.

5. The division of the world in 4 periods from Adam to Moyses, to Advent, to Ascension, to Last Judgement, from Peter's sermon '"Factum est nobis. . . " Fratres, nolite queso. . . ' reappears in an anonymous sermon in MS. B.N. 585, f. 106v. The division of war ('intestinum/civile/extraneum') appears again in MS. B.N. 585, f. 106.

6. The central 'distinction' of Comestor's sermon 135 ('ortus principalis/particularis/generalis/singularis/spiritualis') appears in MS. B.N. 3239, f. 76.

7. MS. B.N. 2941, ff. 99va-100va.

to an intellectual audience. An anonymous sermon begins with a rhetorical apology for the absence in the sermon of the brilliance to be found in the writings of Boethius, Plato or Cicero¹. Another addresses itself to 'vos scholares'² and another in the same manuscript makes free use of the classical poets³.

A sermon by Absalom, canon and later abbot of St. Victor, delivered on the feastday of St. Augustine to Augustinian canons (presumably of St. Victor) took up many of the themes that preachers such as Comestor discussed in the same context⁴. Absalom, like Comestor, defined active and contemplative forms of religious life, the nature of the scholarship proper to each and the relationship between the two. For both Absalom and Comestor the scholar and contemplative were, each in his own way, pursuing the same task⁵. So too, Absalom reiterated familiar Parisian themes, warning those who devoted themselves to secular rather than spiritual learning and counselling self-

1. MS. B.N. 585, f. 109a.

2. MS. B.N. 585, f. 116a.

3. F. 116v.

4. 'Boves arabant. . . " In re familiari. . . ' MS. B.N. 3549, ff. 141v-143, P.L. 211; 260-265.

5. Quadripartita enim scripturarum serie. . . quas si nominibus velis distinguere, alia naturalis, alia juridicialis, alia speculativa, alia disciplinalis potest appellari. Naturalis ad artes liberales pertinet, quae omnes excepta grammatica et rhetorica naturales sunt, eo quod naturali quadam rerum connexionem sibi cohaereant. Juridicialis est rhetorica quae ad legem fori et controversias causarum pertinet. . . Speculativa est per quam [Augustinus] scholaribus docuit divinae legis veritatem. Disciplinalis est per quam claustralibus docuit religionis virtutem. Duae priores sunt ancillae, sequentes, vero, duae sunt dominae, eo quod illae doceant hominem scire, istae, vero, vivere'. P.L. 211:263D.

criticism and inner knowledge as an approach to God¹.

Thus the preoccupations and methods of Parisian preaching spread beyond the schools to regional centres such as St. Martial. Of course material found in the library may not necessarily have been used by the monks. Manuscripts containing these sermons were also of interest for other more substantial texts that they contained. Itier, for example, personally possessed an 'Historia Comestoris'. If, as is possible, this is the Bibliotheque Nationale manuscript 5505 it also contained, apart from an exposition of the Acts of the Apostles attributed to Comestor, sermons by him and by Alan of Lille, for which, considering Itier's own style of preaching, he may have had little regard. Nor, obviously, would the monks have had much control over the contents of the manuscripts that entered the monastery as gifts.

Certainly, sermons were not considered the most valuable items in a medieval library but the fact that Itier took the trouble to have such manuscripts, together with the sermons they contained, rebound, indicates that they were used and thought worth preserving. Moreover, the general level of scholarship reflected by the library as a whole indicates that at least a section of the community was familiar with scholastic culture and could have appreciated, perhaps expected, a scholastic form of sermon.

1. 'O utinam tu, qui multa discis quandoque te ipsum doceas, nec a summo celi sed potius a teipso philosophari incipias, ut videas quid es, quid esse debueras et quid futurus es'. P.L. 211:264D.

Most of the preaching literature found in the twelfth and thirteenth century Limoges manuscripts was not scholastic however. Of the identifiable authors of these sermons the best represented is Geoffrey Babion. One manuscript contains virtually a complete set of his sermons¹ and several other St. Martial manuscripts include sermons by him. Babion was one of the most popular preachers of the twelfth century. His sermons are found in more manuscripts than those of any other preacher. He was not a scholastic preacher, though the contrast between his own sermons and those of the Paris preachers can be exaggerated. He preached in a homiletic style without the close textual analysis of a thema, the profusion of scriptural quotation and the elaboration of allegorical detail that characterised later scholastic preaching. His sermons were essentially exhortatory and emotive rather than couched in the more academic didacticism of the Paris masters. His liturgical collection included sermons addressed not only to religious communities and to the clergy in synod but also to the laity.

Thus, that Babion should be particularly well represented in the St. Martial library is not of itself surprising. There may, however, have been additional factors. The details of Babion's career are extremely unclear. He was for a while 'scholasticus' in Angers and, if he is to be correctly identified with Geoffrey of Loroux, eventually became archbishop of Bordeaux². In the meantime he seems to

1. MS. B.N. 483, f. 79ff.

2. J.P. Bonnes, 'Un des plus grands Prédicateurs du XII^e Siècle Geoffroy du Loroux dit Geoffroy Babion', Revue Bénédictine, 56 (1945/6), 174-215.

have lived as a hermit outside the formal ecclesiastical structures, though clearly with an important reputation as a preacher for he was sent by Bernard to preach against Count William VIII of Poitiers and those schismatics who supported the antipope Anacletus¹. Babion's mission might not necessarily have brought him directly to Limoges but it would certainly have brought him into the region and it gives some idea of the polemical lay preaching that he practised.

Babion's sermons could have been preached, therefore, by the monks of St. Martial to the laity. For it is clear that the monastery was anything but an isolated introspective community and that it had an important role to play in the lay society in which it was situated. In the early eleventh century the community had played an important part in imposing the 'peace of God' in the region and thus regulating the relationship between local lay powers. Ademar's sermons were an important weapon in this campaign. In addition the monks must have taken some responsibility for the pilgrims who passed through Limoges, many of them no doubt staying in the monastery itself, on their way to Compostella.

More significant, however, were St. Martial permanent and specific commitments to lay congregations. Urban II's confirmation charter listed many churches in which the monks were responsible for conducting services. More were added during the twelfth century. The monastery had the habit of 'sub-contracting' these functions out to the local clergy, which explains why the monks might have been interested in their

1. Ep. 125, P.L. 182:270, Bonnes, art.cit., p. 194.

professional competence and the use to which they may have put the synodal preaching of Peter Comestor and Geoffrey Babion. In the thirteenth century, however, the usual procedure was to establish near the church, a small cell or priory of monks to conduct the services, perform the offices and manage the temporalities. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the abbot Hugh of Brosse created a group of twelve secular priests whose task it was to take responsibility for the lay communities attached to the chapter and to perform the private offices bequeathed to the monastery which occupied excessive amounts of the monks' time¹. All these pastoral responsibilities required sermons.

Urban II's charter also specified that in the absence of the bishop the abbot was to share in the administrative functions of running the see. At the beginning of the century relations between the abbot and the bishop had been extremely difficult, each disputing the validity of the other's election. However, by the end of the twelfth century, perhaps because of the threats posed to both by the rising power of the commune and the Viscount Ademar (V)'s support for the young Henry, there was greater cooperation between the two. Thus, in 1213, when Robert Courson tried to interfere in the election of Hugh of Brosse's successor the bishop took the side of the monks. As a result of the improved relations the abbot seems to have taken an irregular role in the conduct of services in the episcopal church and it was he who

1. Lasteyrie, op.cit., pp. 230-1.

celebrated mass in the absence of the bishop¹. Here again the abbot would have required material to preach to a lay audience².

Such an audience would not have been capable of understanding sermons delivered in latin. Virtually all the sermons in the Limoges manuscripts, whether in homiletic or in scholastic form, have been preserved in latin. However, one Limoges manuscript contains two collections of thirty sermons in total written in the langue d'oc³. The two collections can be dated to c. 1120 and c. 1170 and are in a dialect of southern Limousin. They are homilies in the simplest form, some hardly more than a translation of a gospel or apocryphal text. They form part of a liturgical cycle of which the rest has been lost. The same manuscript contains some rhymed moral precepts in a northern Limousin dialect, possibly from Limoges itself⁴. Another Limoges manuscript contains religious verses in provençal⁵. These

1. 'In Ascensione Domini, dominus Hugo abbas processionem et missam majorem in sede Limovicensi celebravit, huiusmodi causa: J[ohannes] episcopus absens erat. . .'. Itier's Chronicle, ed.cit., p. 80 (1211).

2. Several sermons in the St. Martial library imply that preacher and audience have pastoral responsibilities, e.g.: 'Baculos tenere pertinet ad pastores qui servant pecudes et oves quibus defendunt ea a lupis et tunc tenemus baculos cum defendimus nos et subiectos nostros a lupis, id est de male factoribus animae et corporis'. MS. B.N. 567, f. 142va.

3. MS. B.N. 3548B, ff. 16-35, ed. C. Chabaneau, Revue des Langues Romanes, 18 (1880), 105-146; 22 (1882), 157-179; 33 (1883), 53-70, 157-169.

4. Ff. 58v-60v.

5. MS. B.N. 1139, ff. 32-117.

vernacular texts represent only the tip of the iceberg. Much of the pastoral work, including preaching, of the monks of St. Martial would necessarily have been conducted in the vernacular. The vernacular, however, was not a language worthy of record and material of more serious importance was translated into latin. These vernacular sermons seem themselves to be a mixture of direct vernacular composition and translation from latin authorities¹. Most of them offer a simple moral exhortation, usually following a homiletic exposition of the liturgical occasion or gospel text, though they reflect also the polemical concerns of local preachers. One of the rhymed vernacular moral precepts, for example, took up what seems to a Vaudois formula in order to refute it².

Preaching such as this was obviously some distance removed from the scholastic sermon of the Paris masters. Yet ultimately it was exactly this sort of preaching activity that their work was intended to stimulate. St. Martial had need of both sorts of sermon. Elements of the secular clergy resisted the idea that monks not formally entrusted with the office of pastoral care should have the right to preach outside their communities³. For the monks of St. Martial, however, the sermon was an indispensable instrument in the exercise of their extensive and long held pastoral

1. Zink, La Prédication en Langue Romane, p. 97.

2. Ibid., p. 194.

3. M. Peuchmard, 'Le Prêtre Ministre de la Parole dans la Théologie du XII^e Siècle', R.T.A.M., 29 (1962), p. 60ff.

responsibilities. Scholastic and homiletic sermon forms complemented each other and met various of the monastery's requirements. We have seen that the scholastic sermon did not suddenly overwhelm traditional preaching forms. Naturally the monastic culture remained dominant but it nevertheless showed itself open and responsive to new forms and changing fashions of preaching as these gradually spread from the Paris schools. The synodal preaching of the Paris masters could be delivered by the monks to the local clergy who exercised vicariously the monastery's own pastoral duties and for whom the community felt partly responsible. The scholastic sermon could be preached also to the monks themselves. Passing clerics preached in the chapter house. Masters such as Comestor left sermons expressly designed for religious communities. Moreover, the whole scholastic effort had been designed to form an effective clerical body and in so far as the monks themselves exercised a pastoral care the material delivered by the masters was no less relevant to them. The great advantage of the scholastic sermon was its adaptability. It provided basic material and a structure that the monks could use in their own preaching to the laity. In Limoges itself St. Martial had direct experience of the challenge posed by an expanding lay society and by the growing economic and political power of the urban commune¹. The Dominicans, professional lay preachers

1. At the beginning of the thirteenth century there was a protracted dispute between monastery and laity over who was to pay for the rebuilding of the city walls. The abbot refused to recognise the authority of the commune or its elected officers. See Lasteyrie, op.cit., pp. 113-118.

par excellence, arrived in Limoges in 1220¹. The monks, anticipating them, preached to the laity to protect them from the immediate threat of heretical error and more generally to bring them within the authority of the Church and to form them in the revised scholastic ideal of lay religious life.

The sermons copied at St. Martial were not literary meditative pieces in the manner of those on the 'Pater Noster', composed by a monk of Bec in the first half of the century², or of those by St. Bernard on the Song of Songs. The monks of St. Martial were more utilitarian. Sermons were a source of pastoral and doctrinal material to be ransacked, annotated, used and reused. The scholastic sermon did not replace the traditional monastic homilies read in a distinctively monastic context. Rather it complemented them and met other needs. It was above all this capacity of the scholastic sermon to adapt to, and serve, such needs that lay behind its success in the thirteenth century.

1. The Dominicans arrived in 1220 and built their convent beyond the St. Martial bridge. See J. Levet, Histoire de Limoges (Paris, 1976), p. 124. Itier noted in his chronicle: 'Hoc anno [1222] novus ordo et nova congregatio instituta est in capite pontis S. Marcialis de predicatione', ed.cit., p. 114.

2. MS. B.N. 13575, ff. 1-41v.

Illustrative Texts

Three sermons, by Robert Pullen, Gebuin of Troyes and Peter of Poitiers, have been edited here in order to illustrate the development of the techniques and structure of scholastic preaching during the twelfth century.

Pullen's sermon was preached in Oxford and/or Paris in the late 1130s or early 1140s. It is basically homiletic in structure. It follows a passage of Old Testament history and introduces successive elements of it progressively. At the same time the sermon shows clearly the influence of scholastic method. Pullen had no interest in the historical context or literal sense of his text. Instead, he used a variety of techniques to explore a large number of subjects derived from it.

He began by interpreting the four kings of the text as the four cardinal virtues, and the five kings as the five physical senses. He then briefly outlined the interrelations between these. Abraham was seen, in the traditional manner, as a symbol of faith, and Lot, with the help of etymology and symbolic interpretation of the name, as the soul. The symbolism thus enabled the historical narrative to be interpreted as the departure of the soul from faith and its subsequent return (above, pp. 70-1). In this context Pullen was able to touch on the relationship between reason and the senses, and faith and action. A common judeo-christian inversion of the last two letters of the hebrew alphabet together with the analogy of a mathematical tool, the abacus,

allowed Pullen to discover beneath the symbolism of numbers allusions to christian doctrine (above, p.78); the passage of Christ on earth, the Trinity (subsequently defined), the importance of good works and the relationship between the Old and the New Testaments. He then discussed hope and love, the companions of faith (Abraham), and defined them by distinguishing their proper forms from those that were misdirected (above, p.81). He paid close attention to the formulation of his biblical text so as to distinguish two classes of vice. He described the battles in which they should be overcome, the peace, in the form of good works and moral rectitude, that should follow and the reception of the eucharist that would be offered as a reward. He finished by explaining that tribute should be paid for this last in the form of acknowledgement to God for what was his doing in man. The sermon thus touches at various points on moral, doctrinal and metaphysical subjects. The material is somewhat fragmentary and incoherent. The form of the sermon is defined not by thematic unity but by constant reference to, and dependence upon, the Old Testament narrative.

Gebuin probably delivered his sermon to the canons of Troyes cathedral some time before his death in 1161. It has been summarised and discussed above (pp.145-7). It is of interest because of the way in which it is structured. It is not a scholastic sermon but it uses 'distinction' of the thema to organise its material in a manner reminiscent, and to some extent prior, to that developed by the Paris masters. Gebuin did not support his exegesis with biblical authority, as

gradually became mandatory in the Parisian scholastic sermon. His preaching was not so intensively didactic as that of the Paris masters and the material with which he deals here is indeed somewhat perfunctory. Successive paragraphs of the sermon discuss each element of the 'distinction' in turn in a symmetrical manner and the last three of these close with a reiterated verse that may have functioned as a refrain. The entire sermon is couched in a pervasive rhythm and rhyme that is both reminiscent of monastic chant and that anticipates the characteristic rhetorical style of later scholastic preaching.

Peter of Poitiers' sermon was delivered to the clergy at the end of the twelfth century and is discussed fully above, pp. 135-6. Peter began with some introductory remarks on the author of his thema and the circumstances of its composition. He then divided the thema into four parts and developed each in turn by 'distinguishing' complementary meanings of words in them. These he invariably supported with biblical authority. The sermon combined a thorough exegesis of the thema with a discussion of related subject-matter, dealing first of all with general aspects of a christian doctrine and subsequently with its particular relevance to the clerical audience Peter was addressing, in a clearly laid out and well organised sermon structure. It encapsulates developments in scholastic preaching during the course of the twelfth century and manifests most of the essential features of the thirteenth century scholastic sermon.

1. A Sermon by Robert Pullen

Sermo doctoris Roberti Pullani.

"Quatuor reges adversus quinque" insurrexerunt nec solum ipsos victos verum et Loth qui ad ipsos a fratre suo Abraham declinaverat captum cum substantia sua abduxerunt.

,86b Huius prophetiae mysterium/exposituri altius ordiendum
5 censuimus. Quatuor igitur virtutes esse nemo est qui nesciat;
prudentiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam, justitiam.

Est igitur prudentiae quid sit bonum quid sit malum diligenter inquirere, et hoc repellendum illud vero apprehendendum bene consulere. Haec dum singula investigat
10 fragilitati nostrae sustenamento invenit quaedam necessaria
ubi sunt alimenta vel indumenta et si qua sunt huiusmodi similia. Sed dum progreditur singulorum vitam discutiens, in his quae diximus necessaria hos citra modum remanere, illos autem modum transcendere repperit. Sunt autem citra
.,125 modum remanentes, ut quidam religiosi/minus quam
necessitas exigit causa continentiae comedentes vel bibentes. Modum vero transcendunt, qui plus quam necessitas exigit necessariis utuntur ut sunt qui gulae, crapulae, mollitiae indumentorum aut lecti nimis deserviunt. Sed
20 gravius est quod in his scienter peccatur, minus grave quod ex ignorantia incurritur.

H,86va Cum ergo prudentia multos, immo fere omnes,/sic errate

H = MS. Hereford Cathedral O. 2. VIII, ff. 86a-89vb. (Bod. MS. Film 370). L = MS. Lambeth Palace 458, ff. 124v-128v.
13. modum] H. om. 15. minus] H. immus. 17. qui] H. om.

1. Gen. 14:9.

percipiat, temperantiam singulis id est modis observandam
persuadere bene consulendo festinat. Hac expleta persuasione,
25 procedit ac multis occurrit qui temperantiam observare
nitentes persequuntur aut tribulant.

Cui persecutioni aut tribulationi ne cedant, prudentia
docet ut fortitudinem sibi protectionem apprehendant, non eam
qua malum pro malo impatientes reddere solent, sed illam
30 potius qua Sancti quaelibet adversa patienter sustinuerunt
et adhuc sustinent. De illa psalmista: "Si reddidi
retribuentibus mihi" etc. De hac Dominus: "In
patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras".

Postquam necessaria prudentia hoc modo invenit et in
35 usu eorum temperantiam ac fortitudinem observandam consulit,
animae quoque necessaria deinceps investigat et justitiam
bonum animae firmamentum esse percipiens eam in omnibus docet
exequendam. Est autem justitia unicuique quod suum est
H,86vb tribuere, quod facit quis cum Deo quod Dei/est, proximo quod
40 proximi est, sibi quod suum est, tribuit.

Has quatuor virtutes appellant cardinales et bene. Sunt
enim cardo, fons et origo omnium virtutum. His virtutibus
quatuor vitia adversantur quae sunt intemperantia, imprudentia
L,125v infirmitas et injustitia. In istis exponendis diutius/non
45 est immorandum. Contrariis enim contraria innotescere liquet.
Sed non est praetermittendum quod hoc modo inpugnant ut
hostes, modo dominantur ut reges. Sed prosunt si hostes,
nocent vero si fuerint reges.

Insurgunt et enim adversus alios quinque reges; visum
50 videlicet nostrum, auditum, odoratum, gustum et tactum. Horum

23. observandam] H. observantiam.

71 D 75 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

quoque famulatus prodest, dominium vero multum nocet.

Contingit enim visum per exteriora vagari et false speciei illecebris detineri. Unde ~~ps~~almista: "Averte oculos meos ne videant vanitatem". Auditus similiter nugis

55 canoris sepissime irretitur. Odoratus vero nidorem culinae aut aliorum odoramentorum dulcedinem comprehendens
,87a eam sequitur. Gustus autem nonne in sa/poribus nimis delectatur ? Sed tactu in duobus peccamus cum mollita delectando contingimus aut crudeliter proximum percutimus.

60 Sic isti quinque reges in conflictu quatuor regum succumbunt.

Nec solum ipsi verum etiam Loth qui a fratre suo Abraham in oriente manens declinaverat et se et substantiam suam eis summiserat, captivatus est cum substantia sua. Quid ergo per Loth nisi animam, quid per Abraham qui prima credendi via est
65 nisi fidem intelligere debemus ?

Sed quam fidem ? Non eam qua demones credunt et contremiscunt, nec illam quae sine operibus mortua est, sed eam quae ex dilectione operatur. Ab hac Loth, id est anima, declinat et quinque regibus Sodomae et Gommorrae se et sua committit, quotiens operibus fidei praetermissis
70 post quinque sensuum deceptiones abit. Cuius facto huius nominis Loth congruit interpretatio. Interpretatur enim declinatio. Et bene ab oriente declinasse dicitur. Declinans
H,87b enim a fide, ab eo declinavit qui oriens ab alto/ad nos venit.

L,126 Quod autem Loth frater Abrahae dicitur innuit quod anima/christiana de qua sermo est, etsi a fide aberravit, ad eam tamen spem retinens reversionis persepe respicit. Unde nec tota

70. se] H. sed.

53. Ps. 118:37.

dicitur spoliatus substantia. Unus autem evadens
 nunciavit Abrahae. Hunc unum intelligimus rationem quae,
 80 omnibus aliis sensibus deceptis, sola ad fidem revertendum
 et Deum imitandum judicat. Ista quoque una cum Loth
 captivus abducitur. Nisi enim ratio diabolo iram
 suggerenti qua homo crudelitatem inferat aut concupiscentiam
 qua contemnenda concupiscat quandoque cessisset diabolus
 85 animam nullatenus captivam teneret. Sed hic unus quomodo
 liberatus evasit respectu misericordiae Dei quo post
 negationem intuitus "Petrus flevit amare".

"Cum autem audisset" etc. Quid autem est quod
 dicit "audisset" ? Cum Loth enim, id est anima, ab Abraham,
 90 id est a fide, descendit vel aliquam heresim admittendo, vel
 vitam vitiis vel pravis operibus commaculando, sopita est
 fides in nobis, immo, quod magis est, mortua. Fides enim
 H,87va sine operibus mortua est./Dormit fides in nobis cum ea in
 quibus fides consistit ad memoriam non reducimus. Mortua
 95 est quando malorum operum consuetudine detinemur. Ratio
 igitur cum tandem convalescit fidem excitat et de morte
 resuscitat. Quod innuit ubi ait: "Numeravit trecentos
 decem et octo vernaculos".

100 Tau autem apud hebreos quae figuram habet crucis Christi
 trecentos significat. Per trecentos ergo passionem Christi
 intelligimus per quam nos liberari et salvari confidimus.
 Sed attendendum est quod tres dicendo insinuet nobis quaedam
 tria de Christo esse credenda; videlicet natus, passus

78. cf. Gen. 14:13v
 97. cf. Gen. 14:14.

87. Lu. 22:62. 88. Gen. 14:14.

resurrexus. Per centum autem qui sequuntur Ascensionem
 105 dedit intelligendam, et congrue. Centenarius enim numerus
 apud compotistas ex leva transit in dexteram. Et Christus
 126v in ascensione a leva ad dexteram ab hoc mundo/transiuit ad
 Patrem. Unde in Canticis: "Leva eius sub capite meo et
 dextera illius amplexabitur me". Qui igitur credit
 87vb Christum natum/de Virgine, passum, resurrexisse addat
 et ut credat eum ad celos ascendisse et sic numeravit
 trecentos.

Non solum autem trecentos sed et decem et octo Abraham
 numeravit per quod fidem trinitatis cum bonis operibus
 115 habendam designavit. Constat enim decem et octo ex senario
 multiplicato per ternarium. Per ternarium igitur fidem
 trinitatis, per senarium bona opera, intelligere debemus.
 Deus enim sex diebus operatus est et septimo requieuit.
 Et notandum quod ternarius procedit et senarius sequitur.
 120 Nihil enim prosunt opera quae sine fide fiunt. Item
 praetermittendum non est quod decem prius, deinde octo,
 dicuntur. Per decem Vetus, per octo Novum, attendimus
 Testamentum. Ibi enim decem continentur praecepta, hic autem
 ignara finis promittitur octava. Insinuatur itaque nobis ut
 125 a minus bonis ad perfectiora tendamus. Unde Dominus in
 evangelio: "Nisi abundaverit iustitia vestra plus quam
 scribarum et Phariseorum non intrabitis in regnum caelorum".

Post haec restat investigandum quare curavit dicere tria
 H,88a haec "Numeravit vernaculos/et expeditos". Per

108. Cant. 2:6. 126. Math. 5:20. 129. Gen. 14:14.

130 hoc quod dixit numeravit partes fidei nostrae distinguendas
 et memoriter retinendas insinuavit. Verbi gratia: Si
 credimus unum Deum tantum non sufficit nisi tres personas
 esse credamus et eas unum esse Deum. Noster enim Abraham
 puer est dum credimus unitatem. Adultus vero ex quo credimus
 135 sanctae Trinitatis fidem. Hac ratione Judeis ut rudibus unitas
 praedicatur in veteri legi, ut ibi: "Audi Israel, Deus tuus,
 Deus unus est". Christianis, vero, ut adultis Trinitas in
 evangelio, ac si diceretur: "Audi Christianae Deus tuus Deus
 L,127 unus et trinus est." Si ergo volumus ut noster Abra/ham
 140 nostrum Loth reducat non solum partes fidei nostrae quae
 Incarnationi pertinet distinctas firmiter teneamus, verum
 etiam trinitatem in unitate et unitatem in trinitate veneremur.

Opera quoque nostra hoc numero distinguere debemus ut
 forte maiora faciamus ob hoc confidentes in meritis nostris
 145 minora non praetermittamus. Si enim casti sumus, si
 H,88b ieiunatores, si elemosinarum/largitores, non minus
 propterea decimas reddere debemus. Item "vernaculos"
 dicit. Vernaculi dicuntur qui ob certam serviunt mercedem et
 nos ut ipsum Deum habeamus in praemium illi nostrum debemus
 150 servitium. Itidem quod dicit "expeditos" significat quod nec
 amore terrenorum nec alia causa detineamur.

His tribus illa consonat auctoritas quae ait: "In numero,
 in pondere, in mensura creavit Deus omnia". In numero, ut
 partes fidei certas teneamus. In mensura, ut determinatum
 155 sit nobis quod quaerimus. In pondere, ut non leviter a

136. Deut. 6:4. 152. Sap. 11:21.

proposito retrahamur.

"Et divisus sociis irrumpit in hostes". Socii Abraham qui sunt nisi spes et caritas ? Hos Abraham, id est fides, tunc dividit quando credentes speramus quod sperandum et
 160 quantum sperandum est. Possumus aliud sperare et plus vel minus quam sperandum sit. Verbi gratia: Aliud sperat quam sperandum est qui pro bonis operibus aliud quam ipsum Deum expectat. Plus sperat quia qui novit Deum misericordiam
 38va libere peccat, de quo dictum est "Maledictus homo qui peccat
 165 in spe". Minus sperat qui ob alicuius criminis magnitudine de misericordia Dei desperat. Plus enim potest Deus condonare quam aliquis peccare.

Caritatem autem tunc in divisione ponimus quando id diligimus quod diligendum est et quantum diligendum est. Ut
 27v Deum "ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua/et ex omnibus viribus tuis et proximum sicut nos ipsos". His sociis Abraham divisus secure irrumpit in hostes, persequitur et comprehendit et sic Loth reducit. Non solum Loth verum etiam substantiam ipsius reduxit Abraham, instruens nos quatinus cum ad fidem
 175 fuerimus reversione nostra in malis usibus expendamus nec familiam nostram post errores abire sinamus.

Consummato igitur praelio, Abraham a caede regum revertitur. Attendum quod dicit "a caede regum" non "populorum". Sunt enim in nobis quaedam vitia regnantia,
 180 sunt alia minora. Regnat in nobis concupiscentia cum re
 ,88vb aliqua visa noster animus movetur, deinde/eam volumus, postea

159. tunc] H. om. 164. quo] H. om. 172. persequitur]
 H. persequere.

157. cf. Gen. 14:15. 170. Lu. 10:27. 173. cf. Gen. 14:16
 177. cf. Gen. 14:17.

delectamur, postremo eam ad effectum pro viribus nostris
perducimus. Hunc regem in nobis interficere praecipimur ubi
dicitur: "Post concupiscentias ne abieritis", et Apostolus:

185 "Peccatum non dominetur in vestro mortali corpore".

Populum enim omnino occidere non possumus. Si enim dixerimus
quia peccatum non habemus, mendaces sumus. Haec autem etsi
non sint bona tamen sunt necessaria. Sunt enim Cananei, nobis
tributarii, qui magnum nobis reddunt tributum dum humilitatem
190 in nobis custodiunt.

In pugna autem ista dux noster Abram dictus est, id est
pater excelsus, deinde Abraham, id est pater multarum gentium.
Dum enim impugnamur vitiis pusilli Dei nostri celsitudinem
considerare non possumus, quemadmodum ille evangelicus

195 Zaccheus qui prae turba Dominum videre non poterat. Ex quo
autem vitia devicerimus, dux noster Abraham dicitur quia
non solum nos regere verum etiam multos alios ad

,89a fidem/et ad bona opera exemplo nostri possumus convertere.

Post bellum quid restat nisi pax, post laborem nisi quies?
,128 Sed qui vicit in bello caveat ne vincatur/in otio. Si enim
cessat a praelio non tamen ab opere bono. Unde dictum est:
"Semper inveniat te inimicus tuus occupatum", et alibi:
"Otia fuge, tutus eris".

Abraham enim revertendi a caede regum, occurrit rex
205 Sodomorum. Quis autem est rex immundae civitatis nisi
immundus spiritus libidinis qui non solum homines immo etiam
ipsos perfectos absorbere temptat ? Hic dicit ad Abraham:

191. Abram] H. Abraham.

184. cf. Sir. 18:30. 185. cf. Rom. 6:12, 14.

195. Lu. 19:2-3. 204. cf. Gen. 14:17.

"Da mihi animas, cetera tolle tibi", ac si diceret: "Ante
 peractum bellum non solum seviebant mihi corpora verum etiam
 210 animae. Modo autem etsi libidinis actu exercere turpitudinem
 non possunt, velint saltem". Ita inimico nostro ad
 dampnationem sufficit si saltem voluntatem dampnare possit.
 Sed respondet Abraham: "Levo manus meas ad Deum, quia nulla
 ,89b quae tua sunt/rapiam". Ac si diceret: "Animas petis tibi, sed
 215 nec corpora nec animas habebis quia tua omnino abicicio".

Sunt quaedam exteriora ipsius, alia interiora. Exteriora
 ut visus, alloquia, contactus et basia. Contra quod dicit
 Apostolus: "Bonum est mulierem non tangere". Interiora ut
 titillatio quae primus motus est voluntatis, dilectatio quae
 220 etiam consensus dicitur. Qui ab his sibi cavet immundus
 spiritus libidinis nihil eius possidet, sed qui ab his sibi
 voluerit cavere oportebit cum bonis operibus operam dare.
 Non sufficit divertere a malo nisi etiam faciat bonum, quod
 innuit ubi ait: "Levo manus meas". Levat enim manus qui bona
 225 operatur, deprimit qui mala. Sed ne viribus propriis confidere
 videretur vel ob aliquod terrenum emolumentum bene operari,
 utrumque enim bona opera commaculare solet, addit "ad Deum".
 Quasi diceret: "Non in me sed in Domino confido nec propter
 L,128v aliquod terrenum emolumentum sed propter ipsum habendum/in
 230 praemium laboro". Ad Deum levat manus et Deus ei subvenit
 H,89va quod habetur/hic.

Melchisedec autem obviam ei venit offerens panem et
 vinum. Melchisedec istum Christum intelligimus quod rex

208. Gen. 14:21. 213. cf. Gen. 14:22.

218. 1 Cor. 7:1. 232. cf. Gen. 14:18.

est justitiae et iudex. Regi igitur obtemperemus et
 235 iudicem timeamus. Offert iste panem et vinum. In pane
 et vino corpus Christi et sanguinem intelligimus quo
 sicut viatico in estu laboris vitae istius refocillamur.
 Sed non nisi digne accedendum est ad hoc sacramentum. Unde
 et Abraham non ante sed post victoriam accipit panem et
 240 vinum.

Abraham autem dedit ei decimas. Sunt qui habent decimas
 tantum, alii novem partes tantum, alii novem partes et
 decimas. Decimae partes, quae in perfecto numero consistunt,
 perfectionem designant angelorum. Novem vero partes
 245 demonium sunt in quibus nihil est quod spectat ad denarium.
 Novem autem et decem partes nostrae sunt qui in medio positi
 sumus. Sed novem partes in usibus nostris consumere
 praecipimur. Si quid enim in nobis citra perfectionem
 i,89vb reperitur/non fragilitati naturae, non fato, non diabolo,
 250 sed nobis ipsis imputare debemus. Decimas vero partes Deo
 olvere iubemur quia si quid perfectum in nobis est non a
 nobis sed a Deo illud esse sciamus.

2. A Sermon by Gebuin of Troyes

Gebuini.

"Jacob erexit lapidem in titulum".

Legitur autem Jacob quater fuisse luctatus, ipse lapis undique quadratus, titulus per singulas quadraturas legibiliter peratus, per angulos quadraturae singulos
5 equaliter distributus. Sed solaris radius aliquando latet sub nebula et de lutosi nonnunquam extrahitur margarita. Sic forte sub istis divina teguntur misteria. Nec enim aliter tanto tempore legerentur in ecclesia si iure debito viderentur lenocinia.

10 Quater igitur luctatus est Jacob, cum fratre suo Esau infans in utero, in adolescentia cum eodem in domo, in Mesopotania cum Laban socero suo, ad ultimum et in Bethel cum angelo. Luctationis exercitio, supplantationis consilio, contentionis iurgio, nocturnae visionis sompnio. Singula
15 singulis: Cum fratre infans in utero, luctationis exercitio; cum eodem in domo, supplantationis consilio; cum socero suo, contentionis iurgio; in Bethel cum angelo nocturnae visionis sompnio.

Jacob, qui quater luctatus quater in lucta vicerat,
20 hominem virtutibus fortem proprie significat qui quatuor genera temptationum consequenter exuperat. Haec vero sunt
176va vires leonum, venena draconum, leporina suavitas, vulpina
dolositas. In tribulationibus, in heresibus, in carnis
motibus, in falsis fratribus. Singula singulis: Vires
25 leonum in tribulationibus, venenum draconum in heresibus,

P = MS. B.N. 14937, ff. 107va-108b. B = MS. B.N. 14925, ff. 176b-177a.

Gebuini] B. om.

1. Gen. 31:45.

leporina suavitas in carnis motibus, vulpina dolositas in falsis fratribus.

107vb Erectus ergo lapis./Ipse est Christus qui de monte sine
manibus hominum excisus in immensum montem mirabiliter
30 excrevit. Mirabilis futurus moraliter totum orbem
implevit. Lapis igitur iste bene quadratus esse perhibetur
quia quadrata forma stabilis est undecumque volvatur, quae
soli Christo plusquam caeteris hominibus veraciter
adaptatur. Cum enim frequenter in praesentis vitae lubrico
35 quatuor affectionibus animi labatur homo, solus ipse Christus
immunis ab omni malo nullatenus lapsus est animi vel carnis
vicio. Non enim ultra quam satis est gavisus pro acquisitis
nequaquam doluit pro rebus amissis. Qui quoniam spem non
posuit in acquirendis nequaquam nimis doluit pro amittendis.
40 Ecce igitur lapis ille diu improbatus, lapis angularis
undique quadratus, lapis medius inter utrumque parietem
adaptatus, in Zacharia per septem oculorum lapidem
proprie designatus Ecce iterum lapis de quo dixit Jesus
Petro: "Tu es Petrus". Quasi dicat: "A firmitate mea firmus
45 ideoque non supra te sed supra me petram edificabo
ecclesiam meam".

Jacob igitur in prima lapidis quadratura titulum
inscripsit quem per quatuor sillabas in quatuor angulis
quadraturae per equum distribuit: "Em-ma-nu-el", quod
50 interpretatur "nobiscum Deus" quia quatuor modis nobiscum
est Christus; per praesentiam maiestatis, per participationem

33. hominibus] P. om. 39. acquirendis] P. acquirendum.
39. amittendis] P. amittendum. 47. lapidis] P. lapidum.
42. cf. Zach. 3:9. 44. Math. 16:18.

humanitatis, per vinculum caritatis, per patrocinium
 veritatis. In primo igitur, id est per praesentiam
 maiestatis, cognoscit mala nostra. In secundo, id est per
 55 participationem humanitatis, expertus est ea. In tertio,
 per vinculum caritatis, compatitur super fratribus. In
 quarto, id est per patrocinium veritatis, aufert omnia.
 Et est Emmanuel 'nobiscum Deus'.

108a Sed quia nondum determinate/'quis Deus' dixerat ideo in
 60 secunda lapidis quadratura, quasi pro diffinitione, titulum
 inscripsit, quem per quatuor distinctiones in quatuor angulis
 equaliter disposuit; "Deus", "admirabilis", "consiliarius", "fortis",
 quia quatuor sunt quibus Deus operatur in nobis; iustitia,
 3,176^{vb} potentia, sapientia, patientia. In eo quod/'Deus' dixit
 iustitiam demonstravit, in eo quod "admirabilis" potentiam
 declaravit, in eo quod "consiliarius" sapientiam designavit,
 in eo quod "fortis" patientiam declaravit. Iustitia in
 gloriosa bonorum retributione, potentia in eterna malorum
 dampnatione, sapientia in integra rerum cognitione, patientia
 70 in necessaria malorum persecutione. De iustitia dicitur:
 "Iustus Dominus et iustitias dilexit", quantum est in bonorum
 remuneratione. De potentia enim dicitur: "Magnus Dominus
 et magna virtus eius", quantum est in malorum punitione.
 De sapientia dicitur: "Cui omne cor patet et omnis voluntas
 75 loquitur" horum relevata cognitione. De patientia dicitur:
 "Sicut ovis ad victimam ductus est et non aperuit os suum"
 inde abiecta contradictione. Unde et dixit: "Vere Dominus
 est in loco isto", hoc dicens et affirmans pro lapide ipso.

60. lapidis] P. lapidum. 60. pro diffinitione] P. per
 diffinitionem. 68. malorum] P. om. 69. patientia. . .
 persecutione] P. om.

71. Ps. 10:8. 72. Ps. 146:5. 74. Ordinary of the Mass.
 76. cf. Act. 8:32 77. Gen. 28:16

30 Sed licet in secundo latere diffinitionem posuit, quia
 sine proprio nomine cognitio rerum perit, in tertio latere
 titulum inscripsit quam per quatuor litteras in quatuor
 angulis quadraturae distribuit: "Ja He. Vav. He", quod est
 tetragramaton nomen Domini quia quarto numero sunt quadrantes
 verbi, id est praedicationis Domini salvatoris nostri.

85 Primus, quia corde debemus credere; secundus, quod credimus
 confiteri ore; tertius, quod confitemus impleamus opere;
 quartus, quod impleverimus non cessemus edocere. Est, igitur,
 primus in corde per conceptionem, secundus in ore per
 confessionem, tertius in ore per exhibitionem, quartus in
 90 doctrina per praedicationem. Primus ergo iustificat, quia
 corde creditur ad iustitiam. Secundus salutem praestat,
 quia ore confessio fit ad salutem. Tertius eternitatem
 donat, quia bonum opus celum reserat. Quartus gloriose
 coronat, quia doctrina meritum accumulatur. Unde dixit: "Vere
 95 Dominus est in loco isto", hoc dicens et attestans pro
 lapide ipso.

P,108b Sed quia posset iterum aliquis/dicere, "quid de eo illi
 nobiscum vel cum eo nobis commune ?", ideo in quarta
 lapidis quadratura quarto titulum inscripsit, quod et in
 100 angulis quadraturae quartae per quatuor nomina evidenter
 disposuit; "Deus", "spiritus", "caro", "mundus" quia hii quatuor
 vicissitudine quadam debitores inveniuntur. Deus enim
 debet spiritui ut eum et cognitione veritatis illuminet et
 amore virtutis inflammet. Spiritus autem eo debet et

79. diffinitionem posuit] P. diffinitionem non posuit.
 80. cognito] P. cogitatio. 84. praedicationis] P. praedicat-
 oris. 99. lapidis] P. lapidum.

105 in omnibus quae agenda sunt ab ipso erudiri et secundum
7a ipsum quae potest/operari. Spiritus enim debet carni
ut eam a malis cohibeat et in bonis agendis exerceat.
Debet caro spiritui in bono agendo ministerium et in commodo
appetendo modum. Caro quoque debet mundo quod necessitatis
110 est ab eo sumere, quod virtutis est exercere. Mundus debet
carni in necessitate subsidium, in exercitatione incitamentum.
Unde et dixit: "Vere Dominus est in loco isto", hoc
dicens et attestans pro lapide ipso.

Hic igitur lapis utinam dignetur esse et manere in
115 pectore nostro. Jesus Christus qui cum patre vivit et
regnat ab eterno.

3. A Sermon by Peter of Poitiers

Sermo de resurrectione ad sacerdotes.

"Beatus et sanctus qui habet partem in resurrectione prima: et in his secunda mors non habet potestatem; sed erunt sacerdotes Dei et Christi eius".

,69b Fidelis sermo et/omni acceptatione dignus, quod
 25vb Jesus Christus per Johannem/dilectum suum nobis nuntiare
 misericorditer dignatur; cui sermoni fidem facit veritas
 mittentis, dignitas referentis et utilitas manifesta eorum
 quae nobis ab ipso nuntiantur. Hoc enim significavit Jesus
 mittens servo suo Johanni. Ipse est testis, fidelis et
 10 verax, qui est principium omnis creaturae, qui sicut non
 potest mentiri, ita nec fallere nec falli. Johannes
 evangelista haec ait, cuius tanta sit excellentia in
 privilegio dilectionis, in merito castitatis, in praerogativa
 cognitionis, in officio gradus sacerdotalis, noverunt qui
 15 Scripturas divinas, laudibus ipsius plenas, attentius legunt.
 Accedit postea ad laudes eiusdem, quod Johannes gratia Dei
 interpretatur, quod bene convenit non tantum praedicare
 ipsius conversationi, verum etiam intentioni qua verbi
 Dei gratia divina fultus, instanter praedicabat. Propter
 quod a Domitiano Cesaro in Pathmos insulam exilio est
 20 relegatus, ubi et apocalypsim suam vidit et pressuras ecclesiae
 ad munimentum et praemia ad solatium in scriptum redegit et

O = MS. Oxford, Bod. Misc. 269, ff. 69va-71vb. P = MS. B.N. 14593, ff. 325va-326vb.

1. Sermo. . . sacerdotes } O. om. 18. verbi } O. verbum.

2. Apoc. 20:6.

scriptum posteritati reliquit. Quod eius scriptum
ecclesia his diebus legit et frequentat, tum ad venerabilem
25 ipsius recordationem, tum ad solatium et multiplicem
nostram instructionem.

Praemissis etenim verbis instruit nos et de quantitate
praemii cum dicit "beatus et sanctus", de modo acquirendi
cum subdicit "qui habet partem in resurrectione prima",
30 de liberatione ab onere cum addit "et in his secunda mors
non habet potestatem", de ascensu in dignitate cum adiecit
"et erunt sacerdotes Dei et Christi eius". Ecce quot et
quanta beneficia his verbis promittuntur quae servata
praelibati ordinis executione explanabuntur.

35 Cum ergo familiare sit filiis Adae quaerere commoda
sua, stultissimus apparebit qui non ad ea intellegenda
attentum, ad acquirenda strenuum, ad conservanda
circumspectum se exhibebit. Beatitudo primo capite
promittitur et quis est qui beatitudinem appetere non
),70a debeat ? Omnes quippe/homines, ut ait philosophus, beati
esse cupiunt, licet per diversas vias ad hoc venire
studeant. Hoc est quod philosophi gentium a fide Christi,
licet non a moribus alieni, pro summo bono appetunt. Beatus
quidem dicitur quasi "bene auctus" cui omnia aptata
45 succedunt, qui nihil sibi vult adesse quod absit, nihil
abesse quod adsit. Verumtamen, de beatitudine quam multi
disputantes aberraverunt. Philosophi gentium secreta naturae

43. bono] 0. beato.

44. Isidore, Etym. x. 22. P.L. 82:370B.

rimantes, linguas suas magnificantes, beatitudinem in
causarum cognitione posuerunt. "Felix", inquit unus
50 eorum, "qui rerum potuit cognoscere causas". Sed hanc eorum
opinionem Apostolus condemnet dum vehementer increpat eos
qui, ratione phisica, cursus siderum, quantitates elementorum
nosse desiderant et Deum auctorem eorum, quem nosse consummata
laetitia est, spernunt. Si enim haec laudanda sunt, quanto
55 magis creator eorum ? Et ideo tulit Deus ingratis quod
dederat gratis, ut quod non senserant ex copia, sentirent
ex inopia. "Dicentes", inquit, "se sapientes esse stulti
facti sunt", filii huius saeculi beatitudinem in rerum
temporalium abundantia ponunt. Quid, enim, continet
60 scriptura David quorum "promptuaria plena et oves
fetosae et boves crassae beatum dixerunt populum cui haec
sunt". Sed quod in talibus honoribus non sit vere beatus
scriptura testatur quae sequitur: "Beatus populus cuius
Dominus Deus eius" et beatus Job securitatem divitium
65 describens ait: "Domus eorum securae sunt et pacatae
et non est virga Dei super illos. Bos eorum concepit
et non abortivit, vacca peperit et non est privata
fetu suo. Egrediuntur quasi greges parvuli eorum et infantes
eorum exsultant lusibus, tenentes tympanum et citharum et
70 gaudent ad sonitum organi". Sed vide quod sequitur: "Ducunt
in bonis dies suos et in puncto ad infernum descendunt".
"Extrema gaudii eorum luctus occupat". "Vidi impium super-

57. Rom. 1:22. 59. continet] P. contemnet.

62. honoribus] O. homo.

49. Virgil, Georg. ii. 490. 60. Ps. 143:13-15.

63. Ps. 143:15. Job. 21:9-12. 70. Job. 21:13.

72. Prov. 14:13. 72. Ps. 36:35-6.

exaltatum et elevatum sicut cedros Libani et transivi et
 3,70b ecce non erat;/et quaesivi eum et non est inventus locus
 75 eius".

Iudaeus in legis suae observatione et ceremoniarum
 326a traditione/hominem beatificari estimat, sed falso. Quid,
 enim, ait Isaias ? "Popule meus, qui te beatum dicunt
 ipsi te decipiunt". Apostolus, etiam, dicit quod
 80 "si ex lege beatitudo iustitiae est, ergo Christus
 gratis mortuus est". Lex, enim, neminem ad perfectum
 adduxit et "ex operibus legis non iustificabitur omnis
 caro coram illo". Melius est omnibus praedictis sentiens,
 "beatitudinem dicit hominis esse illius, cui Deus accepto
 85 fert iustitiam sine operibus", sicut David attestatur:
 "Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates et quorum
 tecta sunt peccata. Beatus vir cui non imputavit
 Dominus peccatum".

In evangelio, quoque, Mathei Domino docente, didicimus
 90 septem virtutum beatitudines ex septem donis Spiritus sancti
 septem petitionibus dominicae orationis impetratis pervenire,
 quibus, quasi quibusdam gradibus, ascendit homo ad illam
 perfectam beatitudinem ubi Deus erit omnia in omnibus, ubi
 nihil aderit cuius praesentia molestet nihil aberit cuius
 95 desiderium anxiet, "quod oculus non vidit nec auris audivit
 nec in cor hominis ascendit quae praeparavit Deus diligentibus
 se". Prima beatitudo est supercilii et elationis; secunda,
 avaritiae et cupiditatis; tertia, apparentiae et superstit-

93. ubi] 0. nisi. 94. nihil] 0. nil. 94. nihil] P. nil.

78. Is. 3:12. 80. cf. Gal. 2:21. 82. Rom. 3:20.
 84. Rom. 4:6. 86. Ps. 31:1-2. 95. 1 Cor. 2:9.

ionis; quarta, gratiae et veritatis; quinta, gloriae et
 100 eternitatis. Prima est superbi, sed tamen ad viam. Secunda,
 avari sed contra viam. Tertia, superstitionis et praeter
 viam. Quarta, catholici et in via. Quinta, glorificati et
 in patria. Hanc beatitudinem promittit Dominus per
 Johannem habentibus partem in prima resurrectione cum ait:
 105 "Beatus et sanctus qui habet partem in resurrectione prima".

Beatus nunc in spe in futuro in re. Beatus nunc per
 inchoationem in futuro per consummationem. Sed quia omnis
 sanctus beatus est, et non omnis beatus sanctus, ideo ad
 maiorem praemii cumulum designandum subditum est "et sanctus",
 110 acsi diceret ita beatus quod immobiliter beatus; et in illa
 beatitudine confirmatus quisquam diu peregrinans in terris,
 nisi miraculose ut forte in beata Virgine fieri non potest,
 0,70va "qui enim stat,/videat ne cadat". Quod enim alibi dicit
 Paulus: "Certus sum quia neque mors neque vita poterit me
 115 separare a caritate Dei" et illud in Cantico amoris:
 "Aquae multae non poterunt extinguere caritatem". Non
 dicitur pro impossibilitate recedendi a Deo sed pro Dei
 gratia commendanda et infirmitate diaboli si ei resistatur
 demonstranda. Diabolus, enim, in hominem Dei gratia
 120 fultum nullam habet partem, nisi homo prius gratiam deserat,
 et ei se subiciat. Unde in Isaia ad fidelem animam loquens
 ait: "Incurvare ut transeamus". Nisi, ergo, te prius
 incurvaveris nunquam super te transibit. Nisi prius te

111.peregrinans] 0. peregrinamur. 120. homo] 0. huius.
 113. 1 Cor. 10:12. 114. Rom. 8:38. 116. Cant. 8:7.
 122. Is. 51:23.

gratiae subtraxeris nunquam bono gratuito te privabit. Unde
 25 alibi idem Apostolus ait: "Videte ne quis vestrum desit
 gratiae". Non dixit "ne gratia Dei alicui desit". Gratia,
 enim, omnibus Dei se offert. Nulli deest nisi ipse gratiae
 defuerit. Hoc est ergo quod Apostolus dicere voluit:
 "'Certus sum quod non separabit me mors et vita'. Verum
 130 est hoc nisi ego prius me separavero. Et 'aquae cupiditatis
 non poterunt extinguere caritatem'. Verum est hoc nisi prius
 homo eam extinguat". Pro hac incertitudine et mobilitate et
 timore separationis dicit Apostolus: "Ne forte reprobis
 efficiar". Non erat omnino tutus qui dicebat "forte".
 135 "Beatus vir qui semper est pavidus". Pro eo cotidie
 orat ecclesia: "Sanctificetur nomen tuum". Nomen Patris est
 quod in principio dominicae orationis ponitur. Ipse enim
 Pater noster est et nos sumus eius filii. Sed quia multi
 fuerunt filii qui postea facti sunt non filii, ut
 140 illi duri discipuli qui abierunt retro et Judas et alii,
 petimus hoc nomen in nobis sanctificari, id est confirmari,
 quatinus, inquam, ita simus filii, ne possimus non esse
 filii et ipse ita Pater ut semper sit Pater. Hoc autem erit
 "cum absterget Deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis sanctorum
 145 suorum" cum salvabitur Juda et Israel habitat confidenter.
 Tunc habitabit in securitate qui modo militat in
 1,326b timore/et tremore. Ecce de quantitate praemii.

Sequitur de modo acquirendi, quod in eo notatur quod
 1,70vb dicitur "qui habet partem in resurrectione/prima". Duae

138. sed. . . non filii] 0. om. 143. ut. . . Pater] 0. om.
 146. qui modo] 0. quomodo.

125. 1. Cor. 1:7. 133. 1. Cor. 9:27. 135. Prov. 28:14.
 144. Apoc. 7:17.

150 sunt resurrectiones. Prima animarum, secunda corporum. Una
 ab iniquitate ad virtutem, altera a mortalitate ad
 immortalitatem. Una particularis, altera generalis. Una ad
 meritum, altera ad praemium. De prima dictum est: "Surge
 qui dormis et exsurge a mortuis et illuminabit te Christus".
 155 De secunda legimus: "Omnes quidem resurgemus sed non omnes
 immutabimur". In resurrectione prima partem habet qui
 gratiae Dei per resurrectionem Christi sibi infusae
 vult cooperari, et conari, ut quemadmodum surrexit Christus
 a mortuis in gloria Patris, de mortali factus immortalis, de
 160 passibili impassibilis, ita et per fidem illius resurrectionis
 ad bona resurgens, in novitate vitae ambulet de virtute in
 virtutem ascendens quousque in dextera Dei locatus
 Deum deorum sicut est videat.

In cruce, enim, Christi dolor significatur confessorum;
 165 in sepultura requies absolutorum; in resurrectione, vita
 iustorum; in ascensione, profectus perfecti; in consessu
 ad dexteram, gloria beati; et ideo significanter dicit
 Apostolus: "Traditus est propter delicta nostra et surrexit
 propter iustificationes nostras". Non quod mors sine
 170 resurrectione nostrorum operata sit peccatorum
 abolitionem vel resurrectio sine morte nostram operata
 sit iustificationem. Utraque, enim iustificat, utraque
 delicta eliminat. Sed quia sola morte interitus veteris
 vitae significatur sola resurrectione nova vita

153. Eph. 5:14. 155. 1. Cor. 15:51. 168. Rom. 4:25.

175 significatur, quae a iustificatione inchoata in immortalitate perficietur.

In hac prima resurrectione partem habet homo quatuor modis; resurrectionem Christi credendo, confitendo, imitando, praedicando. Credendo, ideo, quia sine fide impossibile
 180 est placere Deo. Iustus ex fide sua vivit sed nec fides cordis valet sine confessione oris. "Corde enim creditur ad iustitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem". Imitari, etiam, oportet nos resurrectionem ut quemadmodum Christus semel "resurgens ex mortuis iam non moritur, et mors illi
 185 ultra non dominabitur", ita et nos semel per fidem resurrectionis eius mortui peccato de cetero vivamus Deo.
 190 Plus/etiam a vobis exigitur ut cui credendo, confidendo, operando, vos conformatis. Etiam illud verbo et exemplo praedicetis ut cortina cortinam trahat et qui audit dicat "veni". Si, enim, quis de impio factus est pius, ad hoc se astringit, sicut scriptum est: "Docebo iniquos vias tuas et impii ad te convertentur". Quanto magis hoc a vobis exigitur quos divina electio ad regendam Dei plebem de medio separavit et hoc officio per gratiam suam deputavit ?
 195 In quorum persona loquitur Dominus ad Ezechiel: "Fili hominis speculatorem dedi te domui Israel" et ad Isaiam: "Clama ne cesses, annuntia populo meo scelera eorum et domui Jacob peccata eorum".

Et nota quod dictum est "partem habet". Quis enim, in

183. nos] P. vos. 194. hoc] O. homo.

181. Rom. 10:10. 184. Rom. 6:9. 191. Ps. 50:15.

195. Ez. 3:17. 197. Is. 58:1.

200 aliqua re participat non totum habet sed partem possidet.

Ita et nos cum a vitiis ad virtutes resurgimus non ex libero arbitrio tantum hoc habemus sed divinae gratiae munere, liberum arbitrium praeveniente. Non est enim volentis neque currentis sed miserentis Dei. "Non ego", dicit

205 Apostolus, "sed gratia Dei mecum". "Non, enim, sufficientes sumus cogitare aliquid a nobis quasi ex nobis sed sufficientia nostra ex Deo est". Ipse, enim, adest nobis illuminando, trahendo, dirigendo, roborando. Illuminando per fidem, trahendo per confessionem, dirigendo per imitationem, 210 roborando per praedicationem.

Ad praemium, etiam, spectat liberatio ab omni onore quae in eo significatur quod sequitur: "Et in his secunda mors non habet potestatem", ubi primo querendum videtur quare cum prius singulariter dixerit "beatus et sanctus"

215 postea pluraliter dicat "et in his". Hic enim minus videtur convenire rationi artis grammaticae. Sed notandum, 326va quod in illo electorum/consortio etsi sint differentes numero personarum tamen omnes unum sunt non natura sed animarum concordia, sicut et Filius oravit: "Pater sancte 220 conserva eos quos dedisti mihi ut sint unum sicut et nos" et ideo modo eos designat pluraliter modo singulariter, quia et plures sunt personarum discretionem et unum. Sed unum tripliciter; dignitate, voluntate, caritate. Dignitate quia equales angelis sunt et filii Dei cum sint filii 0,71b resurrectionis. Voluntate/quia idem volunt et idem nolunt,

206. a nobis] O. ex vobis, P, ex nobis.

213. primo] P. post.

204. 1. Cor. 15:10. 205. 2. Cor. 3:5. 219. Jo. 17:11.

pro qua unitate voluntatis cotidie orat ecclesia: "Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra", id est ita in militanti sicut in triumphanti ecclesia. Caritate unum sunt quia omnes se mutuo absque nubilo invidiae diligunt.

230 Unde et Dominus ait: "Ut dilectio qua dilexisti me in ipsis sit et ego in ipsis". "In his, ergo, secunda mors non habet potestatem".

Tria mortis genera in sacro leguntur eloquio; mors a peccato, mors in peccato, mors pro peccato. Prima est
 235 sanctitatis, secunda iniquitatis, tertia penalitatis. Prima morte moriuntur sancti quia qui sunt Christi carnem suam crucifixerunt cum viciis et cum cupiscentiis. Haec mors praetiosa est in conspectu Domini qua mori^ebatur qui docebat cotidie "mорий propter vestram gloriam, fratres".
 240 Eadem docebat nos mori cum dicebat: "Mortificate membra vestra super terram, quae sunt fornicatio, adulterium, immunditia, concupiscentia mala". Sic moriebantur qui dicebant "quia propter te mortificabimur tota die estimati sumus sicut oves occisionis". Secunda morte quae est
 245 iniquitatis moriuntur tantummodo mali, de qua dictum est: "Sine mortuos in peccatis sepelire mortuos suos". Mors penalitatis est quidquid molestiae pro peccato vel vestro vel primi parentis sustinemus. Sed et ista duplex est; vel necessitatis, vel dampnationis. Prima attenditur in omni
 250 miseria temporali, in fame et siti et algore et caumate,

239. docebat] P. dicebat.

230. Jo. 17:26. 239. 1. Cor. 15:31. 240. Col. 3:5.
 243. Rom. 8:36.

mortalitate et passibilitate, de qua dictum est:

"Quacumque hora comederis morte morieris". "Infelix ego homo. Quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius?"

Secunda consideratur in dampnatione eterna, de qua scriptum
 255 est: "Mors peccatorum pessima". Haec est mors secunda quam
 qui vicerit, ut ait Johannes in eadem apocalipsi, non
 laedetur, quam Dominus moriendo destruxit. Sicut per Osee
 scriptum est: "Ero mors tua o mors et morsus tuus inferne",
 "et in his secunda mors non habet potestatem qui in
 260 resurrectione prima", sicut praedictum est, "habent
 partem", sed liberati ab omni genere mortis "erant sacerdotes
 Dei".

,71va Ecce fratres, immo patres et domini mei,/videte
 vocationem et dignitatem vestram. Aliis promittitur in
 265 praemio quod vobis iam collatum est in dono, scilicet quod
 "erunt sacerdotes Dei et Christi eius", id est perpetuas
 laudes deitati et humanitati persolverent; deitati a qua
 creati sunt, humanitati per quam sunt recreati. Praemium,
 enim, est sacerdotum laudare Deum, et ideo cum debuit dicere
 270 "laudatores Dei et Christi eius" dixit "sacerdotes", ponens
 antecedens pro consequenti.

Haec laudatio in praesenti inchoatur in bona vita et
 doctrina sana. Si, enim, male vivis et bene doces restat ut
 tua praedicatio contempnatur quia vita tua contemptibilis
 275 invenitur. Item, si bene vivis nec bene doces quasi inutilis
 es qui tibi soli vis prodesse et tantum aliis quaeris praesse.

273. et bene. . . bene vivis] O. om.

252. cf. Gen. 2:17, Rom. 7:24. 255. Ps. 33:22.

256. Apoc. 2:11. 258. Os. 13:14.

E duobus tamen imperfectis minus malum est habere
 rusticanam simplicitatem quam eloquentiam peccatricem. Ista
 laus vestra perficietur in eo consortio ubi omnes laudatores
 280 erunt sacerdotes Dei, id est divinae essentiae trinitatis,
 scilicet hoc nomen introductum in designatione essentiae,
 sine aliqua personarum distinctione, ponitur, ut ibi:
 26vb "Audi Israel Dominus Deus tuus Deus unus est"/et omnes
 laudatores erunt Christi, id est uncti eius, id est ab eo
 285 quia enim grecus caret ablativo, pro eo usus est genitivo.

Haec autem unctio spiritualis est non corporalis et
 significata est in unctione David qui primo inunctus fuit a
 Samuele in signum futuri regis in Bethleem et ex tunc directus
 est spiritus Domini in eum, secundo in Ebron. Bis regem;
 290 semel, mortuo Saule, super tribum Juda, item, mortuo
 Isboseth, super universum Israel quae tamen duae unctiones pro
 una reputatae sunt. Ita et nos primus in signo sacerdotii
 vel regni futuri inungimur dum Spiritus sancti gratiam
 in baptismo et in aliis sacramentis percipimus. Secundo
 295 in reges et sacerdotes inungimur bis semel; primo in anima,
 postea in corpore quando in libertate gloriae filiorum Dei
 et redemptionem corporis nostri recipiemus et in anima
 tripliciter inungemur; in passibilitate, cognitione,
 dilectione. In corpore, vero, quadrupliciter; subtilitate,
 300 agilitate, spiritualitate et immortalitate. Hac sunt septem
 3,71vb dotes/in anima et corpore. Haec est "mensura bona conferta,

292. nos] P. vos

283. Deut. 6:4. 301. Lu. 6:38.

coagitata, et superfluens quae dabitur in sinum nostrum".

Ad hanc unctionem nos perducatur qui oleo laetitiae prae
consortibus suis unctus est, Dominus noster Jesus Christus

305 qui vivit et regnat in saecula saecularum. Amen.

302. dabitur] 0. datur.

Appendix: Peter Comestor's Sermons

This appendix provides an analysis of Peter Comestor's standard sermon collection. It describes the manuscripts in which the collection is found, the sermons that comprise the collection and the order in which they are found in them. The appendix also classifies additional sermons that have been attributed to Comestor and that are not known for certain to be the work of other preachers. It is laid out as follows:

1)	The manuscripts of the collection.	p. 296
2)	Manuscripts which appear from catalogue descriptions to contain the collection.	p. 303
3)	The sermons of the collection.	p. 305
4)	The collection.	p. 317
5)	The St. Victor collection.	p. 321
6)	Additional manuscripts.	p. 323
7)	Additional sermons, class 1.	p. 324
8)	Additional sermons, class 2.	p. 328

Only those manuscripts that contain the collection more or less complete and in basically the standard order have been included, though it should be remembered that in manuscripts Q and R the liturgical sermons precede rather than follow the communal sermons (section 1).

Manuscripts B.N. 2950 (Z), B.N. 14932 and Cambrai 824 which contain these sermons in substantially different arrangements together with other Comestor sermons not usually associated with the collection have not been included. Other manuscripts which contain less than half the collection, albeit

in the customary order, have not been included either. Among such manuscripts are Avignon 591 (17 sermons), Dijon Dept. H. 165 (15), B.N. 13582 (12) and 16506 (13). Manuscripts Q and X, in which the collection is somewhat disordered and which contain some sermons not usually found in the collection, and manuscript W, which contains only 30 sermons, are therefore borderline cases.

In addition, some manuscripts which I have not seen but which appear from catalogue descriptions to contain the collection have been included. Where catalogue entries are sufficiently complete the manuscripts have been fully analysed in the same way as those manuscripts that I have seen (manuscripts A, X, Y). In other cases inadequate catalogue entries do not give exact details of the sermons contained and so the manuscripts have been treated separately (section 2). It is of course possible, perhaps likely considering how widely the manuscripts are dispersed, that I have missed some altogether.

Attempts to establish relationships between the different manuscripts of the collection are inconclusive. Manuscript X, one of the earliest, is untypical of the manuscripts generally. It has several sermons not included in most copies of the collection and the customary order in which the sermons follow is disturbed. It is possible, I think, that this is an early draft of the collection.

The manuscripts have been laid out in the appendix following the order of the sermons that they contain. Thus manuscripts A, C, D, E, F, H, I, and J all contain the sermons in the order 1-42 with one or two insignificant,

and probably accidental, omissions (group 1). Manuscripts K, L, M, N, O and P are characterised by an inversion of sermons 12 and 13 (group II). Manuscripts Q and R give the second half of the collection first. They begin with the liturgical cycle and move on to the communal sermons subsequently (group III). It is basically in this order that the sermons are printed in the Patrologia 198. Thus consideration of the order of the sermons suggests three groups of manuscripts characterised by peculiarities distinctive enough to indicate deliberate copying rather than chance error.

These conclusions may be supplemented by the recurrence of common rubrics throughout the manuscripts. Most of the manuscripts carry at the head of each sermon a rubric describing the audience or liturgical occasion for which it was intended. These rubrics have been noted in section 3. However, manuscripts A, C, I, N, Q, T and W carry no such rubrics.

Rubrics themselves are not a very reliable guide to difficulties of attribution but the repeated appearance of the same formula in different manuscripts suggests certain relationships. Many of the manuscripts have a general rubric that describes the collection as a cycle for the year and attributes it to Comestor. Manuscripts B, D, E, F, H, J and R carry the additional rubric 'omnes hi sermones sunt ad praedicandum in synodo' at the head of sermon 9, the last of the synodal sermons. This suggests the addition of manuscript B to group I despite certain anomalies in the order of the sermons. Manuscripts D, U and 5 carry introductory rubrics

in similar formulations specifying that the collection was intended not only for scholars but for monks, canons and priests also.

Probably the most significant rubric in this connexion is the single cross-reference in the entire collection. Many of the manuscripts have running titles, abbreviations or short notes in the margin for the use of both the private reader and the preacher for quick reference. In manuscript G (f.33b) the following marginal note was added next to a passage of sermon 11 which may be found in P.L. 198:1841A. The note reads: 'Harum temptationum explanationem invenies in sermonem qui incipit "Laetare Jerusalem"' (a reference to sermon 24, P.L. 198:1762A). I have found no other example of such a cross-reference except in manuscripts D (f. 21a), I (f. 11b) and J (f. 16b) where the same one has been added and in each manuscript it appears in the wrong place. It has been placed, in fact, not next to the relevant passage of the sermon but at the head of the following sermon (no. 12) as though, in each case, the scribe had copied automatically and uncomprehendingly. This rather strongly implies a relationship between manuscripts D, I, J and G, effectively adding manuscript G to group I despite some idiosyncrasies in the sermon order of that manuscript.

Those sermons that appear in more than 2 of the manuscripts have been included in the collection and have been numbered in the order in which they most commonly occur (section 3).

Additional sermons attributed to Comestor have been classified following the method established by Roberts in her study of

Stephen Langton's preaching¹. Stylistic and doctrinal criteria have not been applied. Classification has been based uniquely on attribution and the classes identified must be regarded, as they have been advertised, as consisting of sermons attributed to Comestor and not of sermons that are certainly by him. Class one consists of sermons attributed to Comestor on two occasions (section 7). Class two consists of sermons attributed to Comestor once only (section 8). Usually the attribution is not specifically for the sermon but is placed at the head of a collection in which the sermon is included and so may not be reliable in every case. On occasions collections with general attributions to Comestor contain material known to be by other authors. Such material has been omitted but it inevitably casts doubt on the value of the attribution to all the sermons of a collection unless the attribution is confirmed elsewhere. Many of the class two sermons are, in fact, interpolations into Comestor's principal collection.

The most important example of this practice is manuscript V. It contains a large collection attributed both at the beginning and at the end to Comestor. The collection is based essentially on Comestor's cycle but many more additional sermons have been inserted to supplement the preaching for those occasions for which Comestor provided little or no material. It contains a total of 135 sermons. Some of these are known to be by other preachers, Maurice of Sully for example. The remainder have

1. Stephen Langton, pp. 29-31.

been classified, with some hesitation, in class two. Material obviously added to the manuscripts at a later date has not been included.

Descriptions have been given of additional manuscripts, containing collections attributed to Comestor, which were used to establish the two classes of sermons (section 6).

The 49 sermons of MS. Troyes 1515 have been omitted as have the additional 30 in MS. Laud Misc. 484. In total 69 sermons listed by Lebreton have been omitted. (She included the Troyes sermons but did not know of the Laud manuscript).

For the sake of completeness the Comestor sermons of the St. Victor collection have also been included (section 5).

I have not been able to see every manuscript listed by Schneyer as containing sermons by Comestor, to say nothing of those that escaped him. I have, however, seen most of them, either at first hand or on microfilm, and I have accounted for many others with the help of descriptive catalogues and the unpublished 'notices' of the 'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes' in Paris. In most of these manuscripts Comestor's sermons are found in small groups as part of a larger collection. They are usually anonymous and so do not alter the pattern of sermons established here. Adjustments may have to be made, particularly to class two. However, the principal collection, the St. Victor collection and the class one sermons provide a secure foundation for a study of Comestor's preaching.

1. The Manuscripts of the Collection

Group I

A Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 389 (From catalogue). Late xii. cent. From the Abbey of the Blessed Mary, Laach (Trier). 104 folios.

Apparently no attribution to Comestor apart from one added in the fifteenth century.

Ff. 1-104: 41 sermons.

B Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 135. xiii. cent. From the Augustinian Abbey of Lesnes (Woolwich) 'de dono fratris Thome de Sandwyco' (f. 1).

181 folios.

F. 111a: 'Ordo sermonum Petri Manducatoris per anni circulum'.

Ff. 111a-157b: 39 sermons.

C Cambridge, Pembroke College 27. xiii. cent.

From the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds. 'Hunc librum fecit frater Wilhelmus de Dice' (flyleaf).

156 folios.

F.1: 'Sermones magistri Petri Comestoris'.

Ff. 1-55: 41 sermons.

- D Cambridge, University library Mm-1-19. xii/xiii. cent.
 Perhaps from Worcester since the flyleaves contain notes
 on the Worcester Redditus. 'Iste liber constat Thomae
 Scheldysely' (f. 2).
 136 folios.
 F. 7a: 'Sermones magistri Petri Comestoris per anni circulum,
 non tantum ad scolares sed etiam ad monachos et canonicos
 regulares'.
 Ff. 7a-69: 41 sermons.
- E London, British Museum, Harley 3958. xiii. cent.
 272 folios.
 F. 124a: 'Ordo sermonum magistri Petri Comestoris, non
 tantum ad scolares sed etiam ad monachos et canonicos
 regulares'.
 Ff. 124a-191b: 41 sermons.
- F Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 1000. xii/xiii. cent.
 From St. Martial-des-Champs.
 111 folios.
 F.1: 'Ordo sermonum magistri Petri Manducatoris per anni
 circulum'.
 Ff. 1a-73va: 42 sermons.
- G Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2602. xiii. cent.
 152 folios.
 F. 1v: 'Continentur in hoc volumine sermones magistri
 Petri Manducatoris numero 44, quorum capitula in fine libri

diligentissime notata et per totum librum iterum assignata repperies'.

Ff. 2a-140vb: 44 sermons.

Ff. 152-152v: The list of contents referred to in the title.
It cites only the first 17 sermons.

H Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2951. Early xiii. cent.
70 folios.

F. 1: 'Ordo sermonum magistri Manducatoris per anni circulum'.

Ff. 1-63a: 42 sermons.

F. 63va: 'Expliciunt sermones magistri Petri Manducatoris'.

I Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 12415. xii/xiii. cent.
From St. Germain. 'Libris Petri Corbigensis' (flyleaf).
101 folios.

'Sermones Petri Comestoris sive Manducatoris' (flyleaf,
later hand).

Ff. 1a-46b: 41 sermons.

J Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 18171. xii/xiii. cent.
From the Cluniac Abbey of St. Arnoul, Crepy-en-Valois
(Senlis).

76 folios.

'Sermones Petri Comestoris' (flyleaf, later hand).

Ff. 1a-69va: 42 sermons.

Group II

K Angers 312. xiii. cent.

From the Augustinian Priory of All Saints (Angers).

161 folios.

F. 67a: 'Incipiunt sermones magistri Petri Manducatoris'.

Ff. 67a-128vb: 42 sermons.

L Douai 386.

From the Abbey of Anchin (Arras). xiii. cent.

85 folios.

F. 1: 'Sermones magistri Petri Manducatoris, primo in sinodo alii de majoribus sollempnitatibus'.

Ff. 1a-85b: 37 sermons.

M London, British Museum, Egerton 272.

From the Augustinian Priory of St. Mary, Overy (Southwark).

The manuscript may be as early as 1185, dated by its romanesque binding (H.M. Nixon, 'The Manuscript of the Winton Domesday', Winchester Studies, 1 (1976), 539, 100 folios.

F. 34a: 'Incipiunt sermones magistri Petri Manducatoris, primo ad sacerdotes deinde ad regulares et ad scolares'.

Ff. 34a-85a: 42 sermons.

N Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 1001. xiii. cent.

131 folios.

No attribution.

F. 1: Table of contents.

Ff. 2a-88vb: 41 sermons.

O Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2603. xiii. cent.

From St. Denis.

155 folios (the beginning of the manuscript is missing).

Ff. 1-155: 38 sermons.

P Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 14933. xii/xiii. cent.

From St. Victor.

169 folios.

F. 1 (later hand): 'Sermones magistri Petri Manducatoris'.

Ff. 1a-96b: 41 sermons.

Group III

Q Cambrai 526. xii. cent.

From the Abbey of the Holy Sepulchre (Cambrai).

142 folios.

F. 1: 'Sermones magistri Petri Comestoris'.

Ff. 1-106: 56 sermons.

R London, Lambeth Palace 176. Early xiii. cent.

The section of the manuscript containing Comestor's sermons may come from the Augustinian Priory of Lanthony (near Gloucester).

196 folios.

F. 1a: 'Sermones magistri Petri Comestoris'.

Ff. 1a-120vb: 45 sermons.

Unclassified Manuscripts

- S Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 1887 (I.R.H.T. file). xiii.cent
81 folios.
F. 2: Table of contents, 'Capituli sermonum magistri Petri Manducatoris'.
Ff. 2v-81v: 34 sermons (the last is incomplete).
- T Cambridge, University Library Ii-1-24. xiii. cent.
228 folios.
The collection is entirely anonymous here together with other anonymous sermons.
Pp. 6b-92b: 40 sermons.
- U Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2952. Early xiii. cent.
208 folios.
F. 7v: Table of contents.
F. 8: 'Incipiunt sermones magistri Petri Manducatoris per anni circulum, non tantum ad clericos scolares sed etiam ad monachos et ad canonicos regulares'.
Ff. 8a-117b: 40 sermons.
F. 117b: 'Explicit liber iste sermonum'.
- V London, British Museum, Harley 3145. Early xiii. cent.
From the Cluniac Priory of St. Milburga, Wenlock (Shropshire)
177 folios.
F. 1a: 'Ordo sermonum magistri Petri Manducatoris'.
Ff. 1a-176va: 89 sermons by Comestor, 135 sermons in all.
Ff. 176va-177b: Table of contents.
F. 176va: 'Ordo sermonum magistri Petri Manducatoris'.
F. 177b: 'Explicit ordo sermonum magistri Petri'.

- W Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Genevieve 208. xii/xiii. cent.
169 folios.
F. 120: 'Incipiunt sermones magistri Petri Manducatoris feliciter'.
Ff. 120-164v: 32 sermons.
F. 164v: Expliciunt sermones magistri Petri Manducatoris feliciter'.
- X Tours 344 (I.R.H.T. file).
From St. Martin (Tours, secular canons).
Dated 1185/6 (from the note 'factus est liber iste in tempore Guillelmi armarii, anno octavo Hervei abbatis'; f. 192vb)
192 folios.
F. 115a: Table of contents, 'Incipiunt capitula sermonum magistri Petri Manducatoris qui continentur in hoc volumine'.
Ff. 115a-192v: 46 sermons.
F. 192v: 'Expliciunt sermones magistri Petri Manducatoris'. (f. 192v).
- Y Vatican, Latin 1238 (from catalogue). xiv. cent.
80 folios.
F. 5: 'Manducatoris [sermones] in hoc ordine'.
Ff. 5-79: 49 sermons.

2. The Manuscripts which I have not seen but which appear
from Catalogues to contain the Collection

- 1 Bruges, St. B. 268 (151 folios). xiii. cent.
Ff. 1-56vb: 34 sermons.
- 2 Munich, c.l.m. 2599 (111 folios). xiii. cent.
F. 1: 'Mag. Petri Manducatoris sermones per anni circulum
in synodo habiti'.
Ff. 1-77: The sermons.
- 3 Munich, c.l.m. 2627 (188 folios). xiii. cent.
F. 38: 'Sermones magistri Petri Manducatoris per anni
circulum in synodo'.
Ff. 38-137: The sermons.
- 4 St. Florian 261 (190 folios). xiii. cent.
Augustinian House, Austria.
Ff. 139-190: The sermons, beginning with no. 1.
- 5 St. Florian 264 (213 folios). xiii. cent.
F. 2a: 'Incipit ordo sermonum magistri Petri Manducatoris
per anni circulum non tantum ad clericos scholares sed
et ad monachos et ad canonicos regulares et ad sacerdotes'.
Ff. 2a-118a: The sermons.

- 6 Turin, Naz. 855 (f. 1. 77) (191 folios). xiv. cent.
'Sermones magistri Petri Manducatoris per totum anni
circulum, primi ad sacerdotes, secundi ad claustrales,
alii de Adventu et de sollempnitatibus Sanctorum'.
- 7 Vienna, Nat. 1298 (221 folios). xiii. cent.
Ff. 1-63: The sermons, beginning with no. 1.

3. The Sermons of the Collection

1. Erudimini (or Diligite) iustitiam qui iudicatis terram. . .
(Ps. 2:10).

Nolite arbitrari quod alienum a vobis sumpserim exordium..

In synodo, ad sacerdotes. [B, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, L,
M, R, S, U, V, X, Y.]

Ad pastores. [P]

P.L. 198:1813.

2. Non vos me elegistis, sed ego elegi vos. . . (Jo. 15:16).

Et a quo dictum est hoc scitis, et quibus dictum est
scitis. . .

In synodo, ad sacerdotes. [B, D, E, F, G, J, K, R, S, V, Y

De election. [H, P.]

De electione, in claustris. [L.]

Sermo de electione, in scolis habitus, [M, U, X.]

P.L. 171:761.

3. Et nunc reges intelligite erudimini qui iudicatis terram. . .
(Ps. 2:10).

Terribile est nomen regum super terram. . .

In synodo, ad sacerdotes. [B, D, E, F, G, J, L, M,
P, R, S, U, V, X, Y.]

De iudiciis terrae. [H.]

Ad claustrales. [K.]

P.L. 198:1817.

4. Sederunt in terra, conticuerunt senes filiae Sion. . .

(Lam. 2:10).

Verbum Jeremiae plangentis, quod audistis per os meum. . .

In synodo, ad sacerdotes. [B, D, E, F, G, J, K, L,
M, O, P, R, S, U, V, X, Y.]

De planctu Jeremiae. [H.]

P.L. 198:1821.

5. Qui mihi ministrat me sequatur. . . (Jo. 12:26).

Verbum hoc abbreviatum fecit Dominus super terram. . .

In synodo ad sacerdotes. [B, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, L,
M, P, R, S, U, V, X, Y.]

P.L. 198:1824.

6. Parvuli petierunt panem. . . (Lam. 4:4).

Flevit Jeremias in Threnis destructionem civitatis. . .

In synodo, ad sacerdotes. [D, E, F, G, H, J, K, M, P,
R, S, U, V, X, Y.]

Ad praelatos. [O.]

P.L. 198:1827.

7. Stetit angelus iuxta aram templi. . . (Apoc. 8:3).

Unus est sermo (or Vox est quidem una) quem audistis. . .

In synodo, ad sacerdotes. [D, E, F, G, H, J, K, M, O,
P, R, S, U, Y.]

De sancto Michaele, in synodo. [B.]

P.L. 198:1832.

8. Si dixerit vobis Pharao, quod est opus vestrum. . .
(Gen. 46:34).

Salubre et grande hic datur consilium. . .

In synodo, ad sacerdotes. [B, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, M,
P, R, S, U, V, X, Y.]

Ad praelatos [O.]

P.L. 198:1809.

9. In manibus prophetarum assimilatus sum. . . (Os. 12:10).

Quis est Dominus qui hoc dicit. . .

In synodo, ad sacerdotes. [G, M, O, P, U, V, X, Y.]

Ad scholares, in scholis. [K.]

P.L. 198:1811.

10. Portio mea, Domine, dixi custodire legem tuam. . .
(Ps. 117:57).

Satis accurate, nec sine brevitatem morosa, formam. . .

Ad monachos. [B, D, J, K, L, O, R, U, V, X, Y.]

Ad canonicos. [E, F, G.]

Sermo in conventu ad monachos albos. [H.]

In conventu regularum. [M.]

P.L. 198:1841.

11. Omni custodia cor tuum custodi fili mi. . . (Prov. 4:23).

In superficie litterae apparet quia pater loquitur. . .

Ad monachos. [D, F, G, H, K, L, S, U, V, X, Y.]

Ad canonicos regulares. [E, J, M, P.]

Ad claustrales. [O.]

P.L. 198:1839.

12. Melior est canis vivus leone mortuo. . . (Eccl. 9:4).

Litterae superficies arida quidem et exsanguis videtur. . .

Ad canonicos regulares. [B, D, E, F, H, J, K, M, O, P,
U, V, X.]

In festivitate beati Augustini. [G, L, S, Y.]

P.L. 198:1788.

13. Fili, mel invenisti, comede quod sufficit. . . (Prov.
25:16).

Salomon in Proverbiis moralem nobis tradidit eruditionem

. . .

In festivitate beati Augustini. [G, L, P, S, Y.]

Ad canones regulares. [B, D, E, F, H, J, M, O, U, V, X.]

Ad sacerdotes, in synodo. [K.]

P.L. 198:1792.

14. Tolle filium tuum Isaac quem diligis. . . (Gen. 22:2).

Series historiae simpliciter intellecta plurimum edificat...

In festivitate beati Augustini. [G, J, L, Y.]

Ad canones regulares. [B, D, E, F, H, M, O, P, U, V.]

In synodo. [K.]

Ad canonicos vel ad monachos. [X.]

P.L. 198:1796.

15. Erat Jerosolymis probatica piscina. . . (Jo. 5:2).

Probaton graece ovis vel pecus dicitur latine. . .

De Adventu Domini. [F, G, H, J, L, M, P, S, V, X, Y.]

Ad populum. [B.]

In scolis. [D, E, O, R, U.]

In synodo. [K.]

P.L. 198:1721.

16. Convertit me ad viam portae sanctuarii exterioris. . .

(Ezech. 44:1).

Sustinet hic Ezechiel personam generis humani. . .

De Adventu. [G, M, O, P, V, Y.]

In scolis. [B, D, E, F, H, J, K, L, R, S, X.]

P.L. 198:1725.

17. Et rex David senuerat nec calefiebat. . . (3 Kings 1:1).

In quo aedificamur iuxta litteram quia morbis. . .

De Adventu, et de Virgine Maria, et beata Lucia.

[F, G, K, L, M, P, R, U, V, X.]

Ad canones regulares. [B, H, J. S.]

In scolis. [D, E, O.]

P.L. 198:1732.

18. Qui non humiliaverit se sicut parvulus iste. . .
(Math. 18:14).

Verba sunt Salvatoris quae audistis per os meum. . .

In festo beati Nicolai. [G, H, O, R, V, X, Y.]

In scolis. [B, D, E, F, J, K, L, P, S.]

Ad scolares. [M, U.]

P.L. 198:1728.

19. Qui sedes super Cherubim appare coram Ephraim. . . (Ps. 79:2).

Frequenter scripserat nobis prophetae promissiones. . .

In Epiphania. [D, E, F, G, H, J, K, M, O, P, R, S, V, X, Y.]

In scolis. [B.]

Ad claustrales. [L.]

Ad scolares. [U.]

P.L. 171:409.

20. Oblatus est quia voluit. . . (Is. 53:7).

Quoties oblatus est Dominus quia ipse voluit.

Primo oblatus. . .

In Purificatione beatae Mariae. [G, J, L, M, O, P, U.]

Ad claustrales. [B, D, E, F, H, K, R, S, X, Y.]

P.L. 198:1744.

21. Eicite lapides de plateis. . .

Dominus Jesus medicus noster salutaris ad similitudinem. .

In initio Quadragesimae. [B, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M,
O, P, R, S, U, X, Y.]

P.L. 198:1752.

22. Qui habitat in adiutorio Altissimi. . . (Ps. 90:1).

Inclinavit celos Altissimus, et descendit (Ps. 17:10).

et adeo descendit quod in similitudinem hominum factus
est. . . (Phil. 2.7). Adeo descendit quod sub manu servi...

In Quadragesima. [B, D, E, H, K, L, O, P, R, S, V, X, Y.]

Ad clericos. [F, G, J.]

Sermo habitus ad scolares. [M, U.]

P.L. 198:1754.

23. Expulit Jesum Spiritus in desertum et tentabatur a Satana
. . . (Math. 1:12).

Omnis Christi actio Christiani est lectio. . .

In Quadragesima. [B, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, O, P, R,
S, V, X, Y.]

Ad scolares. [U.]

P.L. 198:1757.

24. Laetare Jerusalem et conventum facite. . . (Is. 66:10).

Quid est quod tam solemniter Ecclesia hodie hortatur nos...

In dominica mediana. [B, D, E, F, G, H, J, L, M, O, P, R,
S, U, V, X, Y.]

Ad claustrales. [K.]

P.L. 198:1761.

25. Egredimini filiae Syon et videte regem Salomonem. . .
(Cant. 3:11).

Gloriosa dicta sunt saepe de gloriosa matre Dei. . .

In Annuntiatione dominica. [B, L, M, O, U, V, Y.]

In scolis. [D, K, P, X.]

In scolis vel ad ministros Ecclesiae. [E, F, H, J, R, S.]

Ad clerum. [G.]

P.L. 198:1775.

26. Dispone domui tuae quia morieris tu et non vives. . .
(Is. 28:1).

Familiaris fuit haec admonitio et semel facta per
Spiritus. . .

In ebdomeda penosa. [B, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, O, P,
R, S, U, V, X, Y.]

P.L. 198:1764.

27. Cum dilexisset Jesus suos qui erant in mundo. . . (Jo. 13:1).

Quos vocet suos Jesus ambigi potest cum eius sit orbis. . .

In Cena Domini. [B, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, M, O, P, R,
S, U, V, X.]

Ad claustrales. [L.]

P.L. 198:1768.

28. Scitis quia post biduum Pascha fiet. . . (Math. 26:2).

Mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus. . . (1 Tim. 2:5)

Cum praedixisset discipulis sciscitantibus signa. . .

In Cena Domini. [D, F, G, H, J, L, M, O, P, R, U, V, X, Y.]

In Ramis Palmarum. [K.]

P.L. 198:1769.

29. Adhuc escae eorum erant in ore ipsorum. . . (Ps. 77:30).

Ad litteram exprobrat Propheta Judeis populo. . .

In laetania Maiori. [B, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, O,
P, R, S, U, V, X, Y.]

P.L. 198:1775.

30. Venite, ascendamus in montem Domini. . . (Is. 2:3).

Jeroboam statuit vitulos aureos in Dan et in Bethel. . .

De Ascensione Domini. [B, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, O,
P, R, S, U, X, Y.]

P.L. 171:583.

31. Fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum. . .
(Gen. 2:10).

Verbum Domini est quod audistis per os meum. . .

De Sancta Trinitate. [B, D, E, F, G, H, J, K, L, M, O,
P, R, S, U, V, X, Y.]

P.L. 171:595.

32. Super tribus sceleribus Moab. . . (Am. 2:1).

Amos Thecuites vir propheta fuit, sed sermonis absconditi..

De Magdalena. [B, D, E, F, H, J, K, L, M, O, P, R, S, U,
V, X, Y.]

In scolis. [G.]

P.L. 171:671.

33. Vitulus leo et agnus morabuntur simul. . . (Is. 2:6).

Sicut audivimus sic vidimus in civitate Domini virtutum. . .

In festo beati Jacob apostoli, Christophori martyris,

Germani confessoris. [B, E, F, H, J, K, L, M, O, P, R, U.]

Ad monachos. [G.]

P.L. 198:644.

34. In ore duorum aut trium testium stabit omne verbum. . .

(Math. 18:16).

Moyses in Deuteronomio, immo Dominus per Moysen, filiis. . .

In festo beati Jacob apostoli, Christophori martyris,

Germani confessoris. [B, D, E, F, H, J, K, L, M, O, P, R,
S, U, V, X, Y.]

Ad monachos. [G.]

P.L. 198:1778.

35. Nunc scio vere quia misit Dominus angelum suum. . .

(Act. 12:11).

Legitur in annalibus quod Caius Caesar Herodem Tetrarcham

. . . Sancti Petri ad vincula. [H, L, M, O, P, R, S, X, Y.]

Ad claustrales. [B, E, F, K.]

Canonicis regularibus. [G.]

In sollempnitate apostolorum Petri et Pauli. [U.]

Ad vincula sancti Petri, ad sanctam Genovesam. [V.]

P.L. 171:665.

36. Pulvis sum ego et cinis qui loquor vobis, propterea erubesco et vereor vobis loqui. . .

In Assumptione beatae Mariae. [F, J, L, M, O, P, R, U.]

Ad regulares canonicos. [B, D, E, G, K, X, Y.]

In Assumptione beatae Mariae, ad sanctum Victorem. [V.]

P.L. 171:627.

37. Nolite considerare quis ego sum, qui loquor vobis aut vos qui estis, quibus loquor. . .

In festo Omnium Sanctorum. [D, J, L, M, P, R.]

Ad claustrales. [B, E, F, H, K, S.]

Ad monachos. [G, Y.]

In festo Omnium Sanctorum, ad Sanctum Martinum. [V.]

In claustro. [X.]

P.L. 198:1800.

38. Jerusalem quae aedificatur ut civitas. . . (Ps. 121:3).

In sacra scriptura Jerusalem denominatur ad tria. . .

In festo Omnium Sanctorum. [B, D, H, L, M, O, P, R, X.]

Ad claustrales. [E, F, J, K.]

Ad monachos. [G, Y.]

Ad scolares. [U.]

P.L. 171:739.

39. Levavi oculos meos in montes, unde veniet auxilium mihi. . .
(Ps. 120:1).

Non dormit qui oculos levat; laborat qui auxilium. . .

In dedicatione ecclesiae. [B, H, L, M, O, R, U.]

Ad claustrales. [E, F, J, K.]

Ad monachos. [G, Y.]

In claustro. [P.]

P.L. 171:695.

40. Domum tuam decet sanctitudo, Domine. . . (Ps. 92:5).

Dominus domus sanctus est, sancta est domus Domini. . .

In dedicatione ecclesiae. [D, H, K, L, M, O, P, R, X.]

Ad claustrales. [B, E.]

Ad canonicos regulares. [G, Y.]

Ad sanctum Victorem. [U.]

In dedicatione monasterium, ad sanctum Victorem. V.

41. Apprehendent septem mulieres virum unum. . . (Is. 4:1).

Ad litteram, propheta desolationem Judeae et paucitatem. .

In Ramis Palmarum. [B, H, X, Y.]

In Resurrectione Domini. [D, E, F, K, M.]

P.L. 171:476.

42. Dirupisti, Domine vincula mea, tibi sacrificabo. . .

(Ps. 115:16).

Petrus, vinculatus ab Herode, potuit dicere: Dirupisti. . .

Sancti Petri ad vincula. [B, D, E, H, L, M, O, P, R, V.]

De martiribus. [K.]

P.L. 198:1782.

43. Homo, cum in honore esset, non intellexit comparatus est. . .
(Ps. 48:21).

Deus, ultionum Dominus, saepenumero per servos hos. . .

In synodo, ad sacerdotes. [Q, V, Y.]

P.L. 198:1836.

44. Justum deduxit Dominus per vias rectas. . . (Wis. 10:10).

Liber sapientiae pluribus modis commendat homini. . .

In festo beati Augustini. [Q, V, X, Y.]

45. Vere Dominus est in loco isto. . . (Gen. 28:16).

Videndum est quis hoc dixerit et ubi. . .

Ad populum. [G, V, Y.]

P.L. 171:744. (Inc. In templi dedicatione, fratres mei,
Ecclesia).

46. Sint lumbi vestri praecincti. . . (Luc. 12:35).

Fidelis sermo et omni acceptione dignus admodum brevis. . .

In synodo. [G, V, Y.]

47. Ex Egipto vocavi filium meum. . . (Os. 11:1).

Tria loca ex sacrae Scripturae eruditione cognovimus. . .

De Adventu et beato Andrea. [Q, V, X, Y.]

In Adventu Domini. [R.]

48. Vincenti dabo edere de ligno vitae. . . (Apoc. 2:7).

Audistis promissionem et cui facta sit promissio. . .

De beato Vincentio. [Q, R, V, X, Y.]

P.L. 198:1741.

4. The Collection

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>
2		1	1	1	1
3	1	2	2	2	2
4	2	3	3	3	3
5	3	4	4	4	4
6	4	5	5	5	5
7	5	6	6	6	6
8	8	7	7	7	7
9	7	8	8	8	8
10	9	9	9	9	9
11	13	10	10	10	10
12	12	11	11	11	11
13	14	12	12	12	12
14	10	13	13	13	13
15	15	14	14	14	14
16	16	15	15	15	15
17	17	16	16	16	16
18	18	17	17	17	17
19	19	18	18	18	18
20	20	19	19	19	19
21	21	20	20	20	20
22	22	21	21	21	21
23	23	22	22	22	22
24	24	23	23	23	23
25	25	24	24	24	24
26	26	25	25	25	25
27	27	26	26	26	26
28	29	27	27	27	27
29	30	28	28	29	28
30	31	29	36	30	29
31	32	30	37	31	30
32	33	31	38	32	31
33	34	32	40	33	32
34	35	33	41	34	33
35	36	34	42	35	34
36	37	35	29	36	35
37	38	36	30	37	36
38	39	37	31	38	37
39	40	38	32	39	38
40	41	39	34	40	39
41	42	40	125	41	41
42		122		42	42

<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>K</u>	<u>L</u>
1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	3	3
3	3	3	3	4	2
4	4	4	4	2	5
5	5	5	5	5	10
6	6	6	6	6	11
7	7	7	7	7	13
8	8	9	8	8	12
9	9	10	9	9	14
43	10	11	10	10	15
10	11	12	11	11	16
11	12	13	12	12	18
12	13	14	13	13	19
14	14	15	14	14	17
44	15	16	15	15	20
13	16	17	16	16	21
15	17	18	17	17	22
16	18	19	18	18	23
17	19	20	19	19	24
18	20	21	20	20	25
19	21	22	21	21	41
20	22	23	22	22	26
21	23	24	23	23	27
22	24	25	24	24	28
23	25	26	25	25	29
24	26	27	26	26	30
25	27	28	27	27	31
26	28	29	28	28	32
27	30	30	29	29	33
28	31	31	30	30	34
29	32*	32	31	31	35
30	36*	33	32	32	36
31	37**	34	33	33	38
32	33	35	34	34	37
33	34	36	35	35	39
34	35	37	36	36	40
35	37	38	37	37	42
36	38	39	38	38	
37	39	40	39	39	
38	40	41	40	40	
39	41	42	41	41	
40	42		42	42	
45					
46					

* Fragment only
**Fragment only but see below.

<u>M</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>O</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>Q</u>	<u>R</u>
1	1	5	1	14	15
3	3	4	3	25	16
2	2	6	2	1	17
4	5	8	4	47	47
5	4	9	5	48	18
9	6	7	6	39	19
6	8	10	7	70	48
8	9	11	8	69	20
7	7	13	9	19	21
10	10	12	11	22	22
11	11	14	13	41	23
13	13	15	12	32	24
12	12	16	14	16	25
14	14	17	15	29	26
15	15	18	16	30	27
16	16	19	17	20	28
17	18	20	18	21	41
18	19	21	19	23	29
19	17	22	20	24	30
20	20	23	21	26	31
21	21	24	22	27	32
22	22	25	23	28	33
23	23	41	24	31	34
24	24	26	25	33	35
25	25	27	41	34	42
26	41	28	26	35	36
27	26	29	27	36	12
28	27	30	28	37	13
29	28	31	29	38	14
30	29	32	30	40	37
31	30	33	31	44	38
32	31	34	32	2	39
33	32	35	33	3	40
34	33	36	34	5	1
35	34	38	35	6	2
36	35	39	36	8	3
37	36	40	37	9	4
38	38	42	38	10	5
39	37		39	11	6
40	39		40	12	7
41	40		42	13	8
42				15	9
				16	10
				18	
				115	
				91	
				128	
				126	
				43	
				68	
				66	
				4	
				133	
				55	
				36	
				54	

<u>S</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>U</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>v</u> (contd.)	<u>W</u>	<u>X</u>	<u>Y</u>
8	43	1	3	36	3	1	1
9	14	2	1	113	4	2	2
33	12	3	2	71	5	3	3
15	1	4	43	118	6	5	5
1	2	5	4	99	8	9	9
2	3	6	5	64	11	4	4
3	4	7	6	37	12	8	8
4	5	8	8	40	13	6	6
5	6	9	9	70	16	10	10
6	7	11	46	111	14	11	11
11	8	10	72	80	17	13	13
12	10	12	10	55	20	12	12
13	11	13	11	15	21	14	14
16	13	14	12	23	22	44	44
17	15	15	13	33	23	62	62
18	16	17	14	78	24	16	16
19	17	18	44	123	28	17	18
20	18	19	121	75	29	15	15
21	19	20	92	102	30	47	47
22	20	21	47	63	31	18	18
23	21	22	16	135	32	19	19
24	22	23	104	61	33	48	48
26	23	24	105	42	34	20	20
29	24	25	89	39	35	21	21
30	25	41	73	114	36	23	23
31	26	103	87	58	38	22	22
32	27	26	19	67	39	24	24
34	28	27	81	53	42	25	25
35	29	28	112	48	45	60	41
37	30	29	98	19	46	41	26
39	31	30	20	17		26	138
27	32	31	21	45		27	5
7	33	32	22	65		28	7
25*	34	33	24	127		29	43
	35	34	25	85		30	28
	36	35	23	7		31	29
	37		110	59		32	30
	38	36	76	137		33	31
	39	38	90	106		34	32
	40	39	50	97		35	34
	41	40	120	132		86	35
			124	139		36	36
			41	109		38	37
			26	88		37	45
			100			64	38
			27			40	39
			131				40
			28				46
			140				
			107				
			134				
			116				
			29				
			32				
			34				
			35				

*
(The last sermon is incomplete)

5. The Sermons of the St. Victor Collection

J. Chatillon identified a collection of sermons compiled at St. Victor in the later twelfth century.¹ The collection includes six sermons which are individually attributed to Comestor by the principal manuscripts:

12.

20.

49. Cum sim pulvis et cinis timeo loqui vobis. Unde pertimesco. . .

(This is another version of no. 36).

50. Eo tempore egressus est Isaac ad meditandum in agro. . .
(Gen. 24:63).

Alio translatio habet: Egressus est Isaac ad exercitandum
. . .

51. Filius accrescens Joseph, filius accrescens et decorus aspectu
. . . (Gen. 49:22).

Jacob diem obitus sui imminere praevidens. . .

52. Moyses tulit virgam Aaron et reposuit in archa federis. . .
(Num. 17:6-11).

Unde Moyses singulas de singulis tribibus sumpsit. . .

In addition, sermon 70 is included anonymously in this collection. Chatillon wrote of it:

1. J. Chatillon, 'Sermons et Prédicateurs Victorins', A.H.D.L.M.A., 32 (1965), pp. 7-60. Chatillon has edited the Victorine elements of the collection (i.e. not the Comestor sermons) in Galteri a Sancto Victore et Quorundam Aliorum Sermones Ineditos Triginta Sex (Corpus Christianorum Cont. Med. 30, 1975).

Aucun indice ne nous permet d'autre part de découvrir quel peut être l'auteur du s.2 pour la fête de la Dédicace. On peut cependant penser, jusqu'à preuve du contraire, que ce sermon, prononcé très probablement à St. Victor comme toutes les homélies de la collection à laquelle il a été intégré, pourrait être l'oeuvre d'un chanoine régulier de cette abbaye.¹

It is attributed by MS. Maz. 774 to Hilduin. Since it appears in two manuscripts of Comestor's collection I have listed it in class one.

1. Châtillon, Galtieri a Sancto Victore, p. 239.

6. Additional Manuscripts

Two manuscripts which are not classified as manuscripts of the collection yet which attribute additional sermons to Comestor:

- Z Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2950. Late xii. cent.
 187 folios.
 F.1: 'Incipiunt sermones magistri Petri Manducatoris'.
 Ff. 1-163v: 79 sermons (of which 4 are certainly not
 by Comestor).
- Aa Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 14934. xii/xiii. cent.
 From St. Victor.
 270 folios.
 F. 1a: 'Sermones Manducatoris'.
 Ff. 1a-16b: 21 sermons (of which 11 are certainly
 not by Comestor).
 F. 33a: 'Sermones Manducatoris'.
 Ff. 33a-60vb: 19 sermons.

7. Additional Sermons, Class 1 (Sermons attributed to Comestor on two occasions).

53. Ascendet Dominus super nubem levem. . . (Is. 19:1).

Isaias in spiritu loquens adventum Domini. . .

V (142vb). De Adventu Domini.

Z (133).

P.L. 198:1735.

54. Audi Israel praecepta vitae. . . (Deut. 4:1).

Diligenter attendere debetis, fratres, verba ista. . .

Q (140v).

Z (125v).

P.L. 171:814.

55. Cum jeiunaveris faciem tuam lava. . . (Math. 6:17).

Si verba quae audistis ex ore meo nostra putarentur. . .

V (107va). De jeiunio.

Q (135v).

P.L. 198:1749.

56. Deus stetit in synagoga deorum. . . (Ps. 81:1).

Si Saul inter prophetas psallat. . .

Z (128v).

Aa (9b). Sermo ad pastores.

Ed. J. Bonnes, Revue Benedictine, 56 (1946), 211-15.

(Attributed to Gebuin of Troyes in MS. Maz. 1004, f.

39vb and to Hilduin in Ms. Maz. 774, f. 190).

57. Exulta satis filia Syon. . . (Zach. 9:9).

There are two versions of this sermon:

a) Zacharias preco regis eterni paranimphus sponsi. . .

B.N. 13586 (p. 322). S[ermo] m[agistri] Pet[ri]
Co[mestoris] in Ramis Palmarum ad s[acerdotes].

b) Vos qui clavem scientiae habetis. . .

Z (131).

(Attributed to Hilduin in MS. Maz. 774, f. 178).

58. Fili, si oblita fuerit mater filii sui uteri. . . (Is. 49:15).

Hic pater loquitur ad filium. . .

V (140v). Ad canonicos regulares, de sancto Augustino.

B.N. 14937 (111b). Sermo Manducatoris.

(Attributed to Gebuin of Troyes in Ms. Maz. 982, f. 12).

59. Moyses et Aaron in sacerdotibus. . . (Ps. 98:6).

Unus est sermo quem audistis per os meum. . .

V (169b).

Z (165v, 159-160).

(This is attributed to Gebuin by Schneyer, Repertorium,
ii. 168, no. 47).

60. Mulierem fortem quis inveniet. . . (Prov. 31:10).

Quis non ponitur hic pro impossibili sed pro raro. . .

X (159a). De Annuntiatione sanctae Mariae.

Z (155).

61. Oritur sol et occidit. . . (Eccl. 1:5).
 Si simplicitatem horum verborum simpliciter attendamus. .
 V (134b). In Ascensione Domini.
 MS. Bod. Laud. Lat. 105 (3va). Sermo m[agistri] P[etri]
 Mand[ucatoris] in die Ascensionis, apud Sanctum Victorem.
62. Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii. . . (Ps. 44:17).
 Modicum est verbum sed fecundum. . .
 X (135vb) Ad canonicos regulares.
 Y (20v) Ad canonicos claustrales.
63. Primo tempore alleviata est terra. . . (Is. 9:1).
 Isaias vir nobilis et urbanae eloquentiae. . .
 V (124). In Nativitate beatae Mariae virginis.
 Z (152).
64. Principes populorum congregati sunt. . . (Ps. 46:10).
 Deus Abraham dictum est mediator Dei et hominum. . .
 V (96). In festo Omnium Sanctorum.
 X (190a). Omnium Sanctorum, ad claustrales.
 (Attributed to Hilduin in MS. Maz. 774, f. 196v).
65. Si dormiatis inter medios. . . (Ps. 67:14).
 Fecimus, fratres karissimi, conventum. . .
 V (162b). In synodo.
 MS. Leipzig Univ. B. 435, f. 27v. Sermo magistri
 Petri Manducatoris, ad synodum.

66. Tulit Isai asinum plenum panibus. . . (1 Kings 16:20).
 Cum agitaretur Saul a spiritu maligno. . .
 Q (127v).
 Aa (55va).
 P.L. 171:883.
67. Universae viae Domini misericordia et veritas. . . (Ps. 24:10).
 David propheta per Spiritum sanctum praevidensque ventura
 . . .
 V (142b). De Adventu Domini.
 Z (22). In Adventu Domini.
68. Vanum est vobis ante lucem surgere. . . (Ps. 126:2).
 Nota est et frequens vobis omnibus haec exhortatio. . .
 Q (125v).
 Z (111).
69. Vidi et ecce candelabrum totum aureum. . . (Zach. 4:2).
 Zacharias est qui hanc visionem vidit. . .
 Q (17).
 Z (150). De apostolis Petro et Paulo.
 P.L. 171:658.
70. Vidit Jacob in sompnis. . . (Gen. 28:12).
 Triplex est visio; visio noctis, visio diei, visio
 lucis. . .
 Q (14). Sermo in dedicatione ecclesiae.
 V (102). In dedicatione ecclesiae.
 Ed. J. Châtillon, Corpus Christ. Cont. Med., 30 (1975),
 pp. 245-9).
 (Attributed to Hilduin in MS. Maz. 774, f. 204vb).

8. Additional sermons, class 2 (Sermons attributed to Comestor once only).

71. Absorbet fluvium. . . (Job 40:18).

Haec sunt verba viri sancti. . .

V (91a). Ad sacerdotes.

72. Ad aedificationem et salutem subditorum. . .

V (12vb). Sermo ad sacerdotes quomodo subiectos instruant

73. Apparuit benignitas et humanitas. . . (Tit. 3:4).

His verbis beati Pauli apostoli exultat Ecclesia. . .

V (38vb). In Nativitate Domini.

74. Assumpsi duas virgas et vocavi unam decorem. . . (Zach. 11:7).

Haec est prophetia Zachariae prophetae cuius narratio. . .

Z (148v).

75. Assumpta est Maria in celum.

Sacrum diem sacra laetitia. . .

V (120a). In Assumptione beatae Mariae.

76. Ave Maria Gratia plena. . . (Luc. 1:28).

Dulcis et jocunda est haec salutatio. . .

V (61vb). Sermo de beata virgine Maria in Adventu Domini.

77. Beati pauperes Spiritu. . . (Math. 5:3).
 Quinque sunt Spiritus; mundi qui diligunt vana. . .
 B.N. 13586 (p. 323). S[ermo] m[agistri] Pet[ri]
 Co[mestoris].
78. Beati qui lugunt. . . (Math. 5:5).
 Dulcis et jocunda est ista promissio. . .
 V (117vb).
79. Congregate illi sanctos eius. . . (Ps. 49:5).
 Unde ego tam superba praesumptio. . .
 Z (127).
 (Attributed to Hilduin in MS. Maz. 774, f. 189va).
80. Cum esset desponsata mater. . . (Math. 1:18).
 Locuturus evangelista Matheus de sacramento Incarnationis
 . . .
 V (105). In vigilia natalis Domini.
81. Cum natus esset Jesus. . . (Math. 2:1).
 Nuper celebravimus diem. . .
 V (42vb). In die Epiphaniae.
82. Cum transiret Helyseus per Sunam civitatem. . . (3 Kings 4:8).
 Ex superficie hystorie tria commendantur in hac muliere..
 Z (117v).
 P.L. 171:639.

83. De peccatoribus salutem amissam recuperare volentibus. . .
 In penitentia autem tria sunt necessaria considerata. . .
 Z (162). Incomplete.
84. Descendi in hortum meum. . . (Cant. 6:10).
 In campo divini eloquii tres descensus legimus. . .
 Z (138).
85. Descendit Jonas ad interiora navis et dormiebat. . . (Jon. 1:5).
 Facta sunt haec ante nos a diebus antiqui. . .
 V (167b). In synodo.
 P.L. 198:1838.
86. Dominus solvit compeditos. . . (Ps. 145:8).
 Verbum abbreviatum fecit Dominus per prophetam in quo. . .
 X (182a). Ad vincula sancti Petri.
87. Dum medium silentium. . . (Sap. 18:14).
 Spiritus sanctus per quem nobis manifestantur consilia. . .
 V (39va). Dominica infra octavas Domini.
88. Ecce ego lactabo eam. . . (Osee. 2:14).
 Promissio haec divina laeto corde. . .
 V (175va).
89. Ecce venit plenitudo temporis. . . (cf. Gal. 4:4).
 Omne bonum a Deo Patre descendit. . .
 V (36b). In Nativitate Domini.

90. Ecce virgo concipiet. . . (Is. 7:14).
 Debemus nos ad festivitatem istam. . .
 V (63vb). Sermo de Annuntiatione.
91. Ego sum qui deleo iniquitates. . . (Is. 43:25).
 Verba sunt Isaiae. . .
 Q (111v).
92. Egredimini filiae Jerusalem. . . (Cant. 3:11).
 Audiamus, fratres karissimi, audiamus non tam pura
 corporis. . .
 V (25va). Sermo de Passione Domini.
93. Ephraym factus est subcinericius panis qui non reversatur. . .
 (Os. 7:8).
 Jacob patriarcha dilectus a Domino sciens. . .
 Z (160v).
94. Exiit edictum a Caesare Augusto. . . (Luc. 2:1).
 Proprietas visibilium est simulacrum invisibilium. . .
 Z (140).
95. Fac tibi vincula et catenas. . . (Jer. 27:2).
 Verbum istud de faciendis vinculis et catenis. . .
 Z (82).

96. Fili, sedisti ad mensam divitis. . . (Prov. 23:1).

In hac verborum superficie manifeste ostenditur quod
pater. . .

Z (156v-158v, 165-165v).

P.L. 171:650.

97. Framea suscitare super pastorem meum. . . (Zach. 13:7).

Pro diversis locis varie exponitur Dominus exercitum. . .

V (171vb). Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

98. Gustate et videte quam suavis est Dominus. . . (Ps. 33:9).

Universae Ecclesiae proponitur haec salutaris
exhortatio. . .

V (45vb).

(Attributed to Hugh of St. Victor by Schneyer,
Repertorium, ii. 796).

99. Haec est virgo sapiens. . .

V (94v). De qualibet virgine.

100. Hodie et cras demonia eicio. . . (Luc. 13:32).

Tres dies nobis insinuat. . .

V (72b). Sermo de Passione Domini.

101. Homo quidam peregre proficiscens vocavit servos suos. . .
 (Math. 25:14).
 De scola superni magisterii verbum hoc. . .
 Z (77).
102. Hortus conclusus. . . (Cant. 4:12).
 Scripturae sacrae familiare est de Christo. . .
 V (120v). Sermo de sancta Maria.
103. In processione enim sollempni. . .
 U (72b). In Ramis Palmarum.
104. In sole posuit tabernaculum. . . (Ps. 18:6).
 Duae sunt nuptiae principales. . .
 V (31vb). In Nativitate Domini.
105. Jugum oneris eius. . . (Is. 9:4).
 His verbis Isaiae, fratres mei, tria demonstrantur. . .
 V (34b).
106. Lazarus amicus noster dormit. . . (Jo. 11:11).
 Audienda sunt, fratres mei, intenta. . .
 V (171a). In Quadragesima.
107. Maria Magdalena et Maria Jacobi et Salome. . . (Mark 16:1).
 Ubi amor, ibi oculus. . .
 V (77b). In die Paschae.

108. Materia gaudii est materia loquendi. . .

Z (141).

109. Misericordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi. . . (Ps. 100:1).

Haec verba, fratres karissimi, generaliter quidem ad
clericos. . .

V (173vb). Ad sacerdotes.

110. Missus est angelus Gabriel. . . (Luc. 1:26).

Nobis de conceptione gloriosae virginis. . .

V (60va). De conceptione.

111. Nudiustertius cum ad vos diverterem aves quasdam quae de
preda. . .

V (104). Ad monachos.

112. Nuptiae factae sunt. . . (Jo. 2:1).

In lectione ista testatur Johannes evangelista quod
Dominus Jesus. . .

V (43vb). Dominica secunda post Epiphaniam.

113. Osculetur me osculo oris sui. . . (Cant. 1:1).

Hac petitione, fratres karissimi. . .

V (89vb). De Assumptione sanctae Mariae.

114. Parasti in conspectu meo mensam. . . (Ps. 22:5).

Multos habemus, fratres mei, tribulatores. . .

V (138a). In Cena Domini.

115. Paulus dicit omnes nos unus sumus. . . (cf. Gal. 3:28).

Locunda multum et gratiosa verba. . .

Q (106).

116. Pauper venit ad divitem. . .

Ad quod venit. . .

V (79a). Ad monachos.

117. Petrus quidem servabatur in carcere. . . (Act. 12:5).

Herodes Agrippa, qui septimo anno regni sui mirabiliter

. . .

Z (143).

118. Plantaverat Dominus paradysum. . . (Gen. 2:8).

Legimus de paradyso terrestri. . .

V (93a).

119. Quasi Libanus non incisus vaporavi habitationem meam. . .

(Eccli. 24:21).

Quoniam adest, fratres karissimi, nativitas Redemptoris. .

Z (136v).

120. Quemadmodum verbum Dei descendit ad nos. . .

V (66a). In prima dominica Passionis.

121. Qui vult de Deo loqui. . .

V (23vb). Sermo ad claustrales.

122. Reddet Dominus mercedem laborum suorum. . . (Wis. 10:17).

Nolite hodie expectare a me divitis. . .

C (53va).

123. Salomon multa in spiritu videns. . .

V (118vb). In festo sanctae Mariae Magdalenae.

124. Sancti estote. . . (Levit. 19:2).

Unus solus est sanctus fratres karissimi. . .

V (67vb).

125. Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum. . . (Prov. 9:1).

Verbum proposui de aedificatione non de dedicatione. . .

D (67vb). Sermo in dedicatione.

126. Sciendum nobis est fratres karissimi qui obedientia aliquando

. . .

Q (118v).

127. Sederunt in terra. . . (Lam. 2:10).

Vobis loquendum immo de vobis. . .

V (165va). Prima die in synodo.

128. Si filius vos liberaverit. . . (Jo. 8:36).

Grave jugum, onerosa conditio. . .

Q (116).

129. Si fornicatus fuerit Israel. . . (Os. 4:15).

Verba haec, fratres mei, Oseae sunt prophetae. . .

Z (79v).

(Attributed to Maurice of Sully in MS. Bodl. Laud. Lat. 105, f. 1).

130. Sint lumbi vestri praecincti. . . (Luc. 12:35).

Ut mortale peccatum, fratres, non regnet in nostro
mortali. . .

Aa (8a). Sermo contra septem vitia.

Ed. H. Rochais, 'Une Collection de Textes Divers de
S. Bernard Dans le Ms. Tours 343', R.T.A.M., 29 (1962),
147-152.

131. Sperate in eo omnis congregatio. . . (Ps. 61:9).

Fratres, jeiunii tempus susipientis. . .

V (74a). De jeiunio et Pascha.

132. Statura tua assimilata est. . . (Cant. 7:7).

Vox est dilecti ad dilectam. . .

V (172b). Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

133. Super flumina ista paradisi sedens gaudeo dum recordor. . .

Q (132v).

134. Superexaltat misericordia iudicium. . . (James 2:13).
 Ecce quam pium quam elegans verbum. . .
 V (78b). Sermo ad monachos.
135. Surge Aquilo et veni auster. . . (Cant. 4:16).
 Videndum est quis loquitur et quibus loquatur et de
 quo. . .
 V (125vb). De qualibet Virgine.
 (A similar sermon on the same thema with the incipit
 'Hic deobus imperat. . .' is attributed to Hilduin
 in MS. Maz. 774, f. 198 bis a. An attribution of
 this second sermon to Comestor in MS. H, f. 68vb is
 unreliable).
136. Veni in altitudinem Maris. . . (Ps. 68:3).
 Ecce verus Jonas. . .
 Z (63v).
 (Attributed to Hilduin in Maz. 774, f. 197b).
137. Vide Domine et considera. . . (Lam. 2:20).
 Vineam Domini Sabaoth domus Israel est. . .
 V (170a). In festo beati Vincentii Martyris.
138. Vidi aquam egredientem de templo. . . (Ez. 47:1).
 Legitur in Ezechiele quod dum ipse captivus est. . .
 Y (40v).

139. Vidi septem candelabra aurea. . . (Apoc. 1:12).

Verba haec sumpta sunt de Apocalypsi. . .

V (173b). In synodo.

140. Vificiabit nos post duos dies. . . (Os. 6:3).

Ecce tres dies. . .

V (76b). In Resurrectione Domini.

Bibliography

The following sources were consulted during, and contributed to, work on the thesis.

(A) Manuscript Sources

France

Angers, bibliothèque municipale 303, 312.
 Cambrai, " " 404, 526, 562, 588, 824.
 Douai, " " 371, 386, 508.
 Evreux, " " 9, 23, 54.
 Paris, Arsenal 272, 372, 400, 543, 854, 1116.
 Paris, Mazarine 774, 999, 1000, 1001, 1004, 1005, 1009.
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS. Lat. 483, 567, 585, 1785, 1813, 2463, 2469, 2546, 2602, 2603, 2843, 2941, 2945, 2950, 2951, 2952, 3154, 3227, 3237, 3239, 3301C, 3454, 3459, 3537, 3548B, 3549, 3563, 3570, 3572, 3705, 3733, 3818, 3824, 3830, 4036, 5351, 5505, 5558, 6674, 7562, 12413, 12414, 12415, 12420, 13432, 13575, 13576, 13577, 13582, 13586, 14470, 14525, 14589, 14590, 14593, 14804, 14859, 14873, 14925, 14932, 14933, 14934, 14937, 14948, 14954, 14957, 15025, 16331, 16461, 16463, 16505, 16699, 16709. MSS. Nov. Acq. Lat. 335, 54
 Paris, St. Genevieve: 208, 1362, 1422, 2787.
 Reims, bibliothèque municipale 581, 586.
 Toulouse, " " 195.
 Tours, " " 299, 343, 344.
 Troyes, " " 425, 862, 1100, 1227, 1367, 1515, 1562.

Great Britain

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 135.
 Cambridge, Pembroke 27.
 Cambridge, Trinity 0.-7.-9.
 Cambridge, University library Gg-I-5, Ii-I-24, Mm-I-19.
 Hereford, cathedral library O. 2. VIII.
 London, British Museum, Add. 18335. Egerton 272. Harley 23, 3145, 3958. Royal 2. D. XXXVII, 7. F. X.
 London, Lambeth Palace 176, 235, 356, 360, 458.
 London, Southwark, Roman Catholic Cathedral 9.
 Oxford, Bodleian Library 449. Laud 105.
 Laud Misc. 269, 357, 484. Lyell 6.

B. Printed Works

(1) Primary Sources

Alan of Lille, Liber Poenitentialis, ed. J. Longère, 2 vols. (Paris, 1965).

Alan of Lille, 'Opera Omnia', P.L. 210.

Alberic of Trois Fontaines, 'Chronicum', Recueils des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, xiii. 683-713.

Achard: Sermons Inédits, ed. J. Chatillon (Paris, 1970).

S. Bernardi: Opera Omnia, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, 8 vols. (Rome, 1957-1977).

Cartulaire de l'Eglise Notre-Dame de Paris, ed. B. Guérard (Paris, 1850).

Cartulaires du Diocèse de Troyes, Collection des Principaux. . ., ed. C. Lalore, 6 vols. (Paris, 1875-90).

Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, ed. H. Denifle and A. Chatelain, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889-1897).

Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges, ed. H. Duplès-Agier (Société de l'Histoire de France, xx. Paris, 1874).

Galteri a Sancto Victore et quorundam aliorum Sermones ineditos triginta sex, ed. J. Chatillon (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, xxx. 1975).

Guibert of Nogent, Liber Quo Ordine Sermo Fieri Debeat, P.L. 156: 21-32.

Honorius of Autun, Speculum Ecclesiae, P.L. 172:807-1108.

Holtzmann, W., ed., 'Papsturkunden in England', in Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen (Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 33, 1952).

Jacques de Vitry, Historia Occidentalis, ed. J.F. Hinnebusch. (Spicilegium Friburgense, xvii., Fribourg, 1972).

Jacques de Vitry, Sermones Dominicales, ed. Th. Lyngan (Anvers, 1575).

John of Salisbury, The Letters of. . ., i. ed. W.J. Miller and H.E. Butler (London, 1955); ii. ed. W.J. Miller and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford, 1979).

John of Salisbury, Metalogicon, ed., C.C.J. Webb (Oxford, 1929).

- John of Salisbury, Policraticus, ed., C.C.J. Webb, 2 vols.
(London, 1909).
- Obituaires de la Province de Sens, iv., Diocèses de Meaux et de
Troyes (Paris, 1923).
- Osney Annals, Annales Monastici, iv., ed. H.R. Luard, 5 vols.
(London, 1864-69).
- Peter the Chanter, Verbum Abbreviatum, P.L. 205:23-554.
- Peter Comestor, 'Opera Omnia', P.L. 171, 198.
- Peter Lombard, 'Sermons', P.L. 171.
- Petri Lombardi: Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae, ed. I. Brady,
2 vols. (Spicilegium Bonaventurianum, iv and v.
Grottaferrata, 1971, 1981).
- Peter of Poitiers, Sententiae, ed. P. Moore, 2 vols. (Notre
Dame, Indiana, 1943, 1950).
- Peter the Venerable, The Letters of. . ., ed. G. Constable,
2 vols. (Harvard, 1967).
- Pitra, J.B., ed., Analecta Novissima Spicilegii Solesmensis.
- Praepositini Cremonsis Tractatus de Officiis, ed. J.A. Corbett
(Notre Dame Press, Indiana, 1969).
- Rigord, 'Gesta Philippi Augusti', ed. H.F. Delaborde,
Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, 2 vols.
(Société de l'Histoire de France XXIX., Paris, 1882-5).
- Robert Pullen, Sententiae, P.L. 186:639-1010.
- 'Master Stephen Langton Preaches to the People and Clergy:
Sermon Texts from Twelfth Century Paris', Ph. B. Roberts,
Traditio, 36 (1980), 237-268.
- Stephen Langton, Selected Sermons of. . ., ed. Ph. B. Roberts
(Toronto, 1980).

(2) Secondary Sources

- Anciaux, P., La Théologie du Sacrement de Penitence au Douzième
Siècle (Louvain-Gembloux, 1949).
- Alvernay, M.-T. d', 'Alain de Lille: Problèmes d'Attribution',
Actes du Colloque de Lille, Oct. 1978 (Lille, 1980), pp.
27-46.

- Alverny, M.-T. d', Alain de Lille: Textes Inédits (Paris, 1965).
- Alverny, M.-T. d', 'Maître Alan: Nova et Vetera',
Entretiens sur la Renaissance du Douzième Siècle,
ed. M. de Gandillac and E. Jeauneau (Paris, n.d.),
pp. 117-145.
- Alverny, M.-T. d', 'Les Mystères de l'Eglise d'après Pierre
de Roissy', Mélanges Offerts à René Crozet (Poitiers, 1966),
pp. 1085-1104.
- Arbuzov, L., Colores Rhetorici (Gottingen, 1948).
- Baldwin, J.W., Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views
of Peter the Chanter and his Circle, 2 vols. (Princeton
University Press, 1970).
- Beddie, J.S. 'Libraries in the Twelfth Century: Their Catalogues
and their Contents', Anniversary Essays in Medieval History
by Students of C.H. Haskins (New York, 1957), pp. 1-23.
- Bonnes, J.P., 'Un des Plus Grands Prédicateurs du Douzième
Siècle: Geoffroy Du Loroux, dit Geoffroy Babion',
Revue Bénédictine, 56 (1946), 174-215.
- Bourgain, L., La Chaire Française au Douzième Siècle (Paris, 1879).
- Brady, I., 'Peter Manducator and the Oral Teaching of Peter
Lombard', Antonianum, 41 (1966), 454-490.
- Caplan, H., Of Eloquence: Studies in Ancient and Medieval
Rhetoric, ed. A. King and H. North (Cornell University
Press, 1970).
- Chailley, J., L'Ecole Musicale de Saint-Martial de Limoges
(Paris, 1960).
- Charland, Th. M., Artes Praedicandi (Toronto, 1936).
- Chatillon, J., 'Sermons et Prédicateurs Victorins', A.H.D.L.M.A.,
32 (1965), 7-60.
- Courtney, F., Cardinal Robert Pullen: An English Theologian of
the Twelfth Century (Rome, 1954).
- Couvreur, G., Les Pauvres ont-ils des Droits ? (Rome, 1961).
- Cowdrey, H.E.J., The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform
(Oxford, 1970).
- Cruel, R., Geschichte der Deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter
(Detmold, 1879).

- Davy, M.-M., Sermons Universitaire de 1230-31 (Paris, 1931).
- Daly, S.R., 'Peter Comestor, Master of Histories', Speculum, 32 (1957), 62-73.
- d'Avray, D.L. and Tausche, M., 'Marriage Sermons in Ad Status Collections of the Central Middle Ages', A.H.D.L.M.A., 47 (1980), 71-119.
- d'Avray, D.L. 'The Transformation of the Medieval Sermon' (Oxford Univ. D. Phil. thesis, 1976).
- Delhayé, Ph., Pierre Lombard: Sa vie, Ses Oeuvres, Sa Morale (Paris, 1961).
- Delisle, L., 'Les Manuscrits de Saint-Martial de Limoges', Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin, 43 (1895), 1-60.
- Ellinwood, L., 'The French Renaissance of the Twelfth Century in Music', Papers Read at the International Congress of Musicology, New York, 1939, ed. A. Mendel, G. Reese and G. Chase (New York, 1944), 200-11.
- Evans, G.R., Old Artes and New Theology (Oxford University Press, 1980).
- Forni, A., 'Kerygma e Adattamento: Aspetti della Predicazione Cattolica nei Secoli XII e XIV', Buletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano, 89 (1980/1), 261-348.
- Friend, A.C., 'Master Odo of Cheriton', Speculum, 23 (1948), 641-658.
- Gaborit-Chopin, D., La Décoration des Manuscrits à Saint-Martial de Limoges et en Limousin (Paris, 1969).
- Gatch, M.McC., Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Aelfric and Wulfstan (Toronto, 1977).
- Gilson, E., 'Michel Minot et la Technique du Sermon', Les Idées et les Lettres (Paris, 1932), pp. 93-154.
- Glorieux, P., 'Sermons Universitaires Parisiens de 1267-1268', R.T.A.M., 16 (1949), 40-72.
- Grabois, A., 'The Hebraica Veritas and Jewish-Christian Intellectual Relations in the Twelfth Century', Speculum, 50 (1975), 613-634.
- Grundmann, H., Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter (Berlin, 1935).

- Guenée, B., Histoire et Culture Historique dans l'Occident Médiéval (Paris, 1980).
- Hauréau, B., Notices et Extraits de Quelques Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 6 vols. (Paris, 1890-3).
- Hödl, L., Die Geschichte der Scholastischen Literatur und der Theologie der Schlüsselgewalt, 2 vols. (Munster, 1960).
- Hödl, L., 'Eine Undekannte Predigtsammlung des Alanus von Lille in Münchener Handschriften', Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie, 80 (1958), 516-527.
- Hunt, R.W., 'Alexander Nequam' (Oxford Univ. D. Phil. thesis, 1936).
- Hunt, R.W., 'English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century', T.R.H.S., 19 (1936), 19-42.
- Kennedy, V.L., 'The Handbook of Master Peter of Chartres', Medieval Studies, 5 (1943), 1-38.
- Ker, N., Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries (Oxford, 1977).
- Lacombe, G., La Vie et les Oeuvres de Prévôtin (Kain, 1927).
- Landgraf, A., 'Recherches sur les Ecrits de Pierre le Mangeur', R.T.A.M., 3 (1931), 292-306, 341-372.
- Lasteyrie, C. de, L'Abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges (Paris, 1901).
- Lebreton, M.-M., 'Les Sermons de Pierre le Mangeur', Bulletin d'Information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 2 (1953), 27-44; 4 (1955), 35-6.
- Leclercq, J., 'Le Magistère du Prédicateur au Treizième Siècle', A.H.D.L.M.A., 15 (1946), 105-47.
- Leclercq, J., 'Recherches sur d'Anciens Sermons Monastiques', Revue Mabillon, 36 (1946).
- Leclercq, J., Recueil d'Etudes sur S. Bernard et ses Ecrits, 3 vols. (Rome, 1962-9).
- Le Goff, J., La Naissance du Purgatoire (Paris, 1981).
- Little, A.G. and Pelster, F., Oxford Theology and Theologians (Oxford, 1934).
- Lobrichon, G., 'La Prédication au Douzième Siècle à propos d'une Thèse Recente', Revue d'Histoire de la Spiritualité, 53 (1977), 81-94.

- Longère, J., Oeuvres Oratoires de Maîtres Parisiens au Douzième Siècle, 2 vols. (Paris, 1975).
- Longère, J., 'Pauvreté et Richesse chez quelques Prédicateurs durant la Seconde Moitié du Douzième Siècle', Etudes sur l'Histoire de la Pauvreté, ed. M. Mollat, 2 vols. (Paris 1974), i. 255-272.
- Lubac, H. de, Exégèse Médiévale: Les Quatre Sens de l'Ecriture, 4 vols. (Paris, 1959-64).
- Mackinnon, H., 'The Life and Works of William de Montibus' (Oxford Univ. D. Phil. thesis, 1959).
- Mackinnon, H., 'William de Montibus, a Medieval Teacher', Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson, ed. T.A. Sandquist and M.R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), pp. 32-45.
- Martin, R.M., 'Notes sur l'Oeuvre Littéraire de Pierre le Mangeur', R.T.A.M., 3 (1931), 54-66.
- Mollat, M., Les Pauvres au Moyen-Age (Paris, 1978).
- Moore, Ph. S., The Works of Peter of Poitiers (Catholic University of America, 1936).
- Murphy, J.J., Rhetoric in the Middle Ages (Berkley University Press, 1974).
- Murray, A., 'Archbishop and Mendicants in Thirteenth Century Pisa', Stellung und Wirksamkeit des Bettelorden in der Stadlichen Gesellschaft, ed. K. Elm (Berlin, 1980).
- Murray, A., 'Piety and Impiety in Thirteenth Century Italy', Studies in Church History VIII (1972): Popular Belief and Practice, ed. G.J. Cumming and D. Baker (Cambridge University Press), pp. 83-106.
- Murray, A., Reason and Society in the Middle Ages (Oxford University Press, 1978).
- Pelster, F., 'Einige Angaben Über Leben und Schriften des Robertus Pullus, Kardinals und Kanzlers der Romischen Kirche', Scholastik, 12 (1937), 239-247.
- Peuchmard, M., 'Le Prêtre Ministre de la Parole dans la Théologie du Douzième Siècle', R.T.A.M., 29 (1962), 52-76.
- Polheim, K., Die Lateinische Reimprosa (Berlin, 1925).
- Poole, R.L., 'The Early Lives of Robert Pullen and Nicholas Breakspear', Essays Presented to T.F. Tout, ed. A.G. Little and F.M. Powicke (Manchester 1925), pp. 61-71.

- Poole, R.L. 'The Masters of the Schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's Time', English Historical Review, 35 (1920), 321-342.
- Powicke, F.M., Stephen Langton (Oxford, 1928).
- Riche, P., Ecoles et Enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Age (Paris, 1979).
- Roberts, Ph. B., Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton (Toronto, 1968).
- Robertson Jr., D.W., 'Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth Century England', Speculum, 24 (1949), 376-388.
- Robson, C.A., Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily (Oxford, 1952).
- Rochais, H.-M., and Irene Binot, R.M., 'La Collection de Textes Divers du MS. Lincoln 201 et Saint Bernard', Sacris Erudiri, 15 (1964), 15-219.
- Rouse, R.H. and M.A., 'Biblical "Distinctiones" in the Thirteenth Century', A.H.D.L.M.A., 41 (1974), 27-37.
- Rouse, R.H. and M.A., Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland (Toronto, 1979).
- Russell, J.C. 'Alexander Neckam in England', English Historical Review, 47 (1932), 260-266.
- Schneyer, J.B., Geschichte der Katholischen Predigt (Freiburg im Bresgau, 1969).
- Schneyer, J.B., 'Predigten des Petrus Comestor in der Hs. Oxford, Bodl. Laud misc. 484', Scriptorium, 21 (1967), 277-283.
- Schneyer, J.B., Repertorium der Lateinische Sermones des Mittelalters, 9 vols. (Munster, 1969-79).
- Schneyer, J.B., Die Sittenkritik in den Predigten Philipps des Kanzlers (Munster, 1963).
- Smalley, B., The Becket Conflict and the Schools (Oxford, 1973).
- Smalley, B., 'Peter Comestor on the Gospels and his Sources', R.T.A.M., 46 (1979), 84-129.
- Smalley, B., 'Oxford University Sermons', Essays in Honour of R.W. Hunt, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp. 307-27.
- Smalley, B., 'Some Gospel Commentaries of the Early Twelfth Century', R.T.A.M., 45 (1978), 147-180.

- Smalley, B., 'Studies on the Commentaries of Stephen Langton',
A.H.D.L.M.A., 5 (1936), 1-182.
- Smalley, B., The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Notre
Dame Press, Indiana, 1964).
- Spicq, C., Esquisse d'une Histoire de l'Exégèse Latine au Moyen-
Age (Paris, 1944).
- Sweet, J., 'English Preaching 1221-93' (Oxford Univ. B. Litt.
thesis, 1953).
- Thompson, J.W., The Medieval Library (New York, 1957).
- Welter, J. Th., L'Exemplum dans la Littérature Religieuse et
Didatique du Moyen-Age (Paris-Toulouse, 1927).
- Werner, E., Pauperes Christi (Leipzig, 1956).
- Zink, M., La Prédication en Langue Romane avant 1300 (Paris, 1976).